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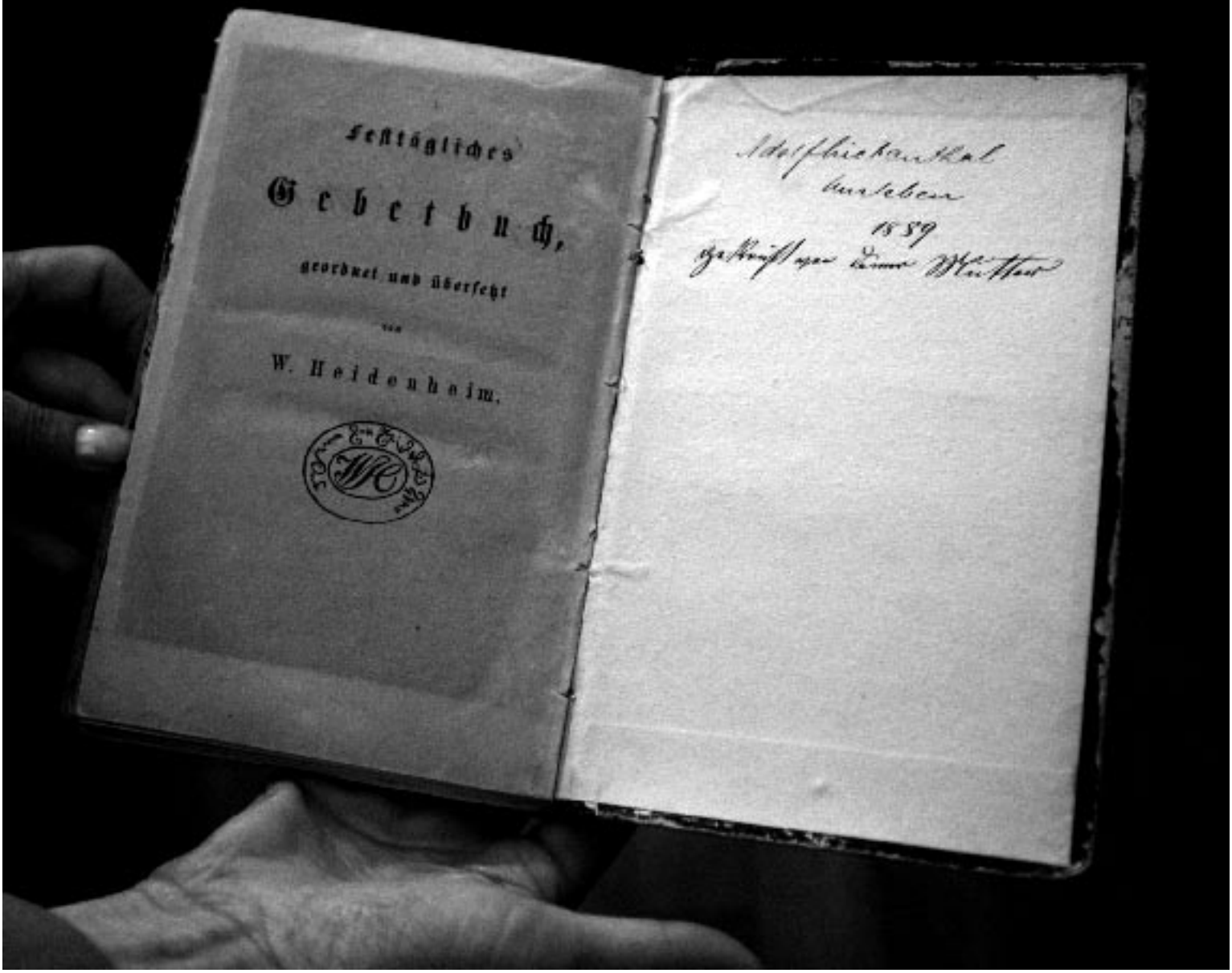

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ANCESTRY OF THE KLEIN FAMILY OF JÖHLINGEN, BADEN

—RALPH BAER

This article shows how 30 years of research, with its ups and downs, solved many mysteries surrounding the history of one family from the Palatinate.

In 1977, shortly after I started researching my family tree, I copied an ancestral chart belonging to my father's cousin, Willi Baer. The chart was compiled in Germany during the 1930's by his father, Max Baer, a brother of my grandfather, Julius. Max and Julius married sisters, and thus Willi and my father were first cousins through both their fathers and mothers. On the chart, the parents of Max's paternal grandmother, Babette Baer née Klein (my father's father's father's mother), were given as Lazarus Klein and a woman whose maiden name was Sonnentheil. No first name of the mother was mentioned, and no earlier ancestors were entered for this family. Babette was born in 1805 in Jöhlingen in Baden (now Walzbachtal-Jöhlingen in Baden-Württemberg). Figure 1. summarizes the above. Figure 2. shows the correct relationships as described in the remainder of this article.

```
Lazarus Klein <----> Sonnentheil
                |
          Babette Klein <----> Lazarus Baer
                                |
                        Nathan Carl Baer
                                |
              ----------------------------
              |                           |
          Max Baer                  Julius Baer
              |                           |
         Willi Baer                 Erich Baer
                                          |
                                    Ralph Baer
```

Figure 1
Family tree incorperating information compiled by Max Baer

I soon learned from my own research in the Jöhlingen vital records that Lazarus Klein was actually the name of an older brother of Babette, and their father was named Seligmann. I was able to ascertain that the given name of Babette's mother was Schönle (also recorded on various records as Jeannette, Johanna, and Schönel), and she did not use a family name, only the patronymic Raphael in various forms. Because she married before

```
                                Seligmann
                                    |
                            Lazarus Seligmann
                                    |
                      Joseph Lazarus Seligmann <----> Bella Jacob
                                                |
              ------------------------------------------------------------
              |                                                          |
        Seligmann Joseph <----> Schönle Raphael [Schneeberger]       Wolf Joseph
           (Klein)          |                                     (Joseph Sonnentheil)
                            |                                              |
                            |                                     Lazarus Sonnentheil
                            |
                            |
        ---------------------------------------------------------------------
        |            |                  |                                  |
Lazarus Klein  Meyer Klein     Babette Klein <----> Lazarus Baer     Elias Klein
                                                |
                                        Nathan Carl Baer
                                                |
                                    ----------------------------
                                    |                          |
                                 Max Baer                 Julius Baer
                                    |                          |
                               Willi Baer                 Erich Baer
                                                               |
                                                          Ralph Baer
```

Figure 2

Family tree showing the correct relationships between many of the people named in the text. There are many other descendants not included therein. As mentioned in the text, it is not proven that Bella Jacob was Seligmann Joseph's mother.

1809 when family names were adopted in Baden, she did not adopt a family name for herself. Prior to 1809, Seligmann Klein was known as Seligmann Joseph. Thus, his father's given name was most likely Joseph.

FINDING MY UNCLE FROM LANDAU

Several Jöhlingen records refer to Schönle as being from Pfaffenhoffen in Alsace. Although Schönle did not have a family name, I learned, using the 1784 Alsatian Jewish census and the 1808 Alsatian Jewish permanent family name-adoption records, that her father and brothers who still lived in the ancestral town of Pfaffenhoffen assumed the name Schneeberger in 1808. Schneeberger is not the same as Sonnentheil, although for a while I wondered if there was some peculiar logic between Schnee (snow) and Sonne (sun). Why Max Baer had entered the family name Sonnentheil remained for a long time a mystery. I add that the wife of Babette's brother Lazarus was Rachel (Regina) Dörflinger, so that is not where the name Sonnentheil fits in either.

About a dozen letters written by various members of my Klein family early in the nineteenth century have been passed down to descendants. I have the originals or copies of all those letters that I have located. These letters are in German written in the Hebrew alphabet. Other than one where I luckily also have a transliteration by my great-grandfather Nathan Carl Baer into Fraktur script, I was unable to decipher more than isolated words. The one that I have a transliteration for turns out to be an 1821 letter that Nathan's mother Babette Klein had written to her future husband Lazarus Baer after she had found out that she had been promised in marriage to Lazarus. They had not yet met at the time that the letter was written and did not marry until 1832, eleven years later. My English translation of this letter was published in *Mishpacha, the Journal of the Jewish*

Genealogical Society of Greater Washington (JGSGW), in Volume 12, No. 2 in 1992.

UNRAVELLING THE MYSTERY

These letters are written by different people in vastly different handwritings, so knowing what one letter means was of little help to me with the rest. With the considerable assistance of Arline Sachs, former President of the JGSGW, I was able to understand several of these letters including one which was written on 19 May 1820 in Landau in der Pfalz (Landau in the Palatinate) by Meyer and Elias Klein, two brothers of Babette, to their father Seligmann Klein in Jöhlingen. These two brothers discussed therein a visit in Landau to a person they called "Onkel Wolf" (Uncle Wolf). There was also discussion in this letter about Elias taking music lessons.[1]

Previous to understanding this letter, I had not known about an Uncle Wolf, and I did not know that members of this family lived in Landau. It was not at first clear whether Uncle Wolf was a brother of Seligmann or of his wife Schönle Raphael or perhaps the husband of a sister of one of them. I suspected that the relation was either Seligmann's brother or his sister's husband because the 1784 Jewish census for Pfaffenhoffen, Alsace, does not mention a Wolf among Schönle's brothers, although he could have been married to her sister. It was also possible that "Onkel" did not really mean that Wolf was an uncle and was used as a term of endearment for a more distant relative or a friend.

DISCOVERY IN THE AMBERG ARCHIVES

While visiting the Mormon genealogical archives in Salt Lake City in 1992, I looked at a microfilm containing the family name adoption list for Landau from 1808. This list shows a Wolf Joseph (that is Wolf, son of Joseph) adopting the name Sonnentheil along with his wife, son, and stepson. He also changed his given name to his father's, Joseph, becoming Joseph Sonnentheil. Suddenly, I was able to tie together Max Baer's ancestor chart and the letter from Landau. Because Wolf had the patronymic Joseph, most likely he was Seligmann Joseph Klein's brother, not another type of uncle to Babette and her siblings. Clearly, my granduncle Max knew that there were people named Sonnentheil related to our Klein family, but he placed them incorrectly, probably because he had not considered the possibility that a brother of a Klein ancestor, living elsewhere, adopted a family name other than Klein!

Without the lead from the letter written by Babette's brothers, I would have had no reason to look through Landau records while in Salt Lake City. Now, with the publication of Lars Menk's book, *A Dictionary of German-Jewish Surnames*, I would have been led to Landau from an alternate direction because Menk shows the name Sonnentheil appearing in Landau. The only place that Menk lists another family with the same name is in the city of Regensburg. I have not yet investigated that possible link. Lastly, he mentions the connection to the Kleins of Jöhlingen which he probably obtained from messages that I have posted on GerSIG.

Landau is on the west side of the Rhine, and it was subject to many Napoleonic laws including the requirement for vital records to be kept starting late in the 18th century. I was thus able to obtain Wolf's marriage record and his death record from the town. The 1806 marriage record states that Wolf's parents were Joseph Seligmann and Bella Jacob. It also stated that Wolf was born in Sulzbach in der Oberpfalz (Sulzbach in the Upper Palatinate). His 1848 death record confirmed the latter part of this information.

I also learned that Wolf in Landau was a cantor and school teacher, as was his brother Seligmann in Jöhlingen. I earlier had found mention of Seligmann Joseph as a cantor or school teacher in Pfaffenhoffen in

Alsace (where he obviously met his future wife and her family) and in Reilingen in Baden prior to his arrival in Jöhlingen. It is possible, but quite unlikely, that these two references are actually to different teachers named Seligmann Joseph. However, the Reilingen entry describes Seligmann Joseph as previously living in France, which ties the references together.

SEVEN YEARS WAR

Jöhlingen records for my Klein family never stated the names of Seligmann Klein's parents except for the patronymic Joseph. So another question for me was how much of this information also pertained to Wolf Joseph's (later Joseph Sonnentheil) brother, my ancestor, Seligmann Joseph (later Seligmann Klein). I had little doubt that Seligmann Joseph was also a son of Joseph Seligmann because of the repetition of the fairly uncommon name Seligmann. There remain the questions of whether Seligmann Joseph's mother was also Bella Jacob and if Seligmann Joseph was born in Sulzbach.

I then wrote to the branch of the Bavarian archives for the former Oberpfalz district that is in Amberg. They found a list of the Jewish community of Sulzbach from 1807 that mentioned Joseph Seligmann and his wife whose name there was spelled Bela. No children were living with them at the time, only a maid. Also, Joseph Seligmann was mentioned in an earlier list from 1798.

Lastly, the archives in Amberg found mention of a 12 November 1787 court record where the 60-year-old Joseph Lazarus Seligmann asked to have his yearly Schutz payment (tax to be allowed to live in Sulzbach and head a family) reduced because of his age, the fact that his wife had been bedridden for six years, and only one of his six children could help support him. This record gave me a number of additional pieces of information: 1) Joseph was born about 1727. 2) Joseph was apparently the grandson of a man named Seligmann, not the son, and his father was named Lazarus. Because both Seligmann Joseph Klein and his brother Wolf had sons named Lazarus, I immediately suspected that this was true. There are other possibilities, but they are all much less likely. 3) Seligmann and Wolf had four unknown siblings.

This was not the first time that Joseph Lazarus Seligmann petitioned to have his tax payments reduced. On 1 September 1755, he asked the Sulzbach government about the amount of his tax payments. His parents had died within the previous three weeks (thus August 1755). He also stated that he had been married since 1752. The parents had left behind eight children. Thus, besides for Seligmann Klein's four unknown siblings, there are now also seven unknown siblings of his father, Joseph. The name of Joseph's wife is not mentioned here, so I cannot conclude that Seligmann Joseph's mother was Bella Jacob.

A similar request was made for at least a third time on 24 May 1805. At that time he stated that he was 80 years old (thus born about 1725) and his wife had been bedridden for 20 years. It mentions that he was supported only by an unnamed son and the Munich Jewish community.

Sulzbach, now part of Sulzbach-Rosenberg, has a city archive. The Amberg state archives had forwarded a copy of my letter there. I received from Sulzbach-Rosenberg extracts from the book *Geschichte der Juden in der Oberpfalz, V, Herzogtum Sulzbach* (Sulzbach und Floss) [*History of the Jews in the Upper Palatinate, volume V, Duchy of Sulzbach* (Sulzbach and Floss)], written in 1927 by Dr. Magnus Weinberg, the Rabbi in Neumarkt. Since then, I have seen a copy of this book at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. A list for 1801 contained in Rabbi Weinberg's book (page 52) shows Josef Seligmann as one of the Jews with permission to live in Sulzbach, and lists from 1765 and 1787 (both page 51) show Josef Lazarus. Although there is no proof, I very strongly suspect that these were the same person — Joseph Lazarus Seligmann. An earlier list for 1745 (page 51) includes Lazarus Seligmann who must have been his father.

Rabbi Weinberg's book also states that Joseph Lazarus was an Army supplier during the Seven Years' War. In 1760, he delivered supplies to a Kurpfalz military hospital in Kunersdorf (Cunnersdorf near Dresden). He was later imprisoned by Prussian troops near Leipzig who brought him after a week's travel to Torgau where he was given Prussian passes but was forced to surrender his money and valuables. He claimed reimbursement for this from the Sulzbach government that had employed him.

I hope to trace this family back further and perhaps find the four unknown siblings of Seligmann Klein and Joseph Sonnentheil. There was a Seligmann (Pinchas) Sulzbach who died on 22 August 1801 in Fürth and may have been one of the seven unknown siblings of Joseph Lazarus Seligmann in Sulzbach. I think that this is a strong possibility because the family name Sulzbach indicates a previous residence there, the fact that his father was listed as Löser (=Lazarus) Sulzbach, and the repetition of the name Seligmann. Another sibling may have been Fradel Lazarus of Sulzbach who had an apparently extramarital child Sara married to Isaak Steinhardt. Sara and Isaak lived in Floß. Also, there is the lead to Regensburg supplied in Lars Menk's book that needs to be investigated.

As one mystery is solved, yet more are uncovered.

NOTES:

1. Like his father, Seligmann Klein, Elias would become a cantor. He would later work with the famous Viennese cantor Salomon Sulzer in Hohenems, Vorarlberg, Austria, before being banished from the Hohenems Jewish community for having an affair with a non-Jew. See Der Musiker Elias Klein aus Jöhlingen: ein Jugendfreund und Mitarbeiter von Salomon Sulzer (*The Musician Elias Klein of Jöhlingen: a childhood friend and coworker of Salomon Sulzer*) by Karl Heinz Burmeister (Montfort, Jg. 40 Nr. 3/4, Dornbirn 1988, pp. 289 – 301).

ONE GENEALOGIST'S APPROACH TO AUSTRIAN RESEARCH

—JANET ISENBERG

Several years ago, I took a wonderful, memorable trip to Vienna, Budapest and Prague with my husband, son and mother. My mother had never returned to Vienna after leaving in 1938, and at age 71, it was finally time for her to take that journey.

RESEARCH & PREPARATION

The most important part of preparing for a trip like this is to do your homework. One part of your preparations needs to take place immediately prior to boarding the plane, but the other parts will be built up over your years of hunting for clues.

In the course of my 30 years of genealogical research, I was blessed with maternal grandparents whom I knew well and who saved everything. My grandparents died at ages 87 and 94, long after I'd developed my interest in genealogy when I was a teenager. Even though their memories weren't very good by the time they were in their early 80s, their photos and documents enabled me to find the significant locations in their lives. I also wrote away for the birth, marriage and death certificates that they didn't have, all of which gave me a wealth of information.[1]

- From my grandfather's mother's, Rosalia Drucker's death certificate, I learned my great grandparent's address in Floridsdorf, a suburb of Vienna.
- From my mother's birth certificate, I learned where her family lived in the same town.
- From my grandmother's mother's, Bertha Guttman's death certificate, I learned that she had been born in Stampfen, which I learned is now known as Stupava, Slovakia from *Where Once We Walked.*
- From my great-aunt, Elsa Guttmann's work papers, I learned that she had been born in Laab, near Stupava.
- From my great-uncle, Sam Guttmann's Austrian passport, I learned that he had been born in Gajar, now Gajary (25 miles north-west of Slovakia's capital Bratislava close to the Austrian border).
- From my grandmother's Gewerbeschein (trade license), I learned both her home and business addresses.
- From my grandmother's Meisterbuch (master book) for her dress-making business, I learned the succession of increasingly larger buildings that had housed their growing business.

- I had several photos of my grandparent's businesses, even though I didn't know exactly where they were located. I know that they would be important clues in my search.

Maps played an important role in helping me find all my ancestral homes & businesses. I was lucky that modern maps contained all the place and street names that I needed, although I was not able to locate things like Jewish cemeteries ahead of time. (Internet resources were not as rich then as they are now.)

Before my trip, I prepared a copy of my family tree complete with photographs, documents and all the data I could cull from all my files. By leaving home all my precious original documents, yet carrying along everything that might prove relevant, I was able to make the most of this trip for genealogic purposes without ruining the sightseeing part of the trip.

BEAUTIFUL BUDAPEST

Our first destination was Budapest. This city on the Danube River has been home to Jews since medieval times. I had recently read a wonderful book called *Jewish Budapest*[2] and learned a lot about the city and its history. My maternal great-grandfather, Ignaz Drucker, had been born in Pest in 1850, before the cities of Buda, Obuda and Pest became one. The book clearly stated that there were no Jewish cemeteries pre-dating the 1880s, so I knew it wasn't likely I'd find ancestral tombstones.

The most significant and emotional event for us was attending Friday night service at the Dohany Synagogue. This is the second largest synagogue in the world. It was opened in 1859 and, no matter what synagogue my great-grandfather might have attended, I'm sure that no nine-year-old could resist attending the inaugural event.

Our guide in Budapest was a lovely woman who had only discovered that she was Jewish ten years earlier, after the fall of Communism. Seeing the sights of Jewish Budapest through her eyes added many layers of significance to all we saw. While I tried to identify sources for historic documents (birth, death and marriage records), I didn't have any luck during our brief visit. My favorite souvenirs from Budapest are the Hungarian lace challah cover from the Dohany Synagogue, and the book of photos showing the same Budapest sights in 1900 and 2000. Through these photos, I could envision what the city might have looked like to my great-grandfather.

A DETOUR THROUGH SLOVAKIA

While travelling from Budapest to Vienna, I had arranged for our guide to take a detour to my grandmother's ancestral towns in Slovakia. Due to the remoteness and small size of these towns, I was unable to get information in advance. When we went to the biggest of the three towns, Stupava, we asked directions to the Jewish Cemetery. Because of the prohibition against showing non-Christian symbols, it was behind a large, nondescript wall, next to a private home, with a metal door as the only clue that something might be behind it. We drove past the Jewish Cemetery three times before finally finding it. The homeowner unlocked the door for us and sent her English-speaking daughter to answer our questions. Most of the tombstones were illegible, but my husband was able to tromp through the waist-high grass to find one tombstone for someone with our family name on it. It was a thrilling moment. Unfortunately, the daughter informed us that there were no records of the burials, so we left with little more than that one photo. Attempts to find another Jewish cemetery in the next town, Laab, yielded no results and, since the third town was even smaller, we decided

that our time would be better spent by heading toward Vienna. The poverty in rural Laab was in dramatic contrast to Stupava, and even more so to Vienna. I could certainly understand my ancestor's imperative to immigrate to Vienna for a better quality of life. I have photos from the 1950s of my grandparent's visits to Slovakia to bring food and money to the family left behind.

VIENNESE ADVENTURE

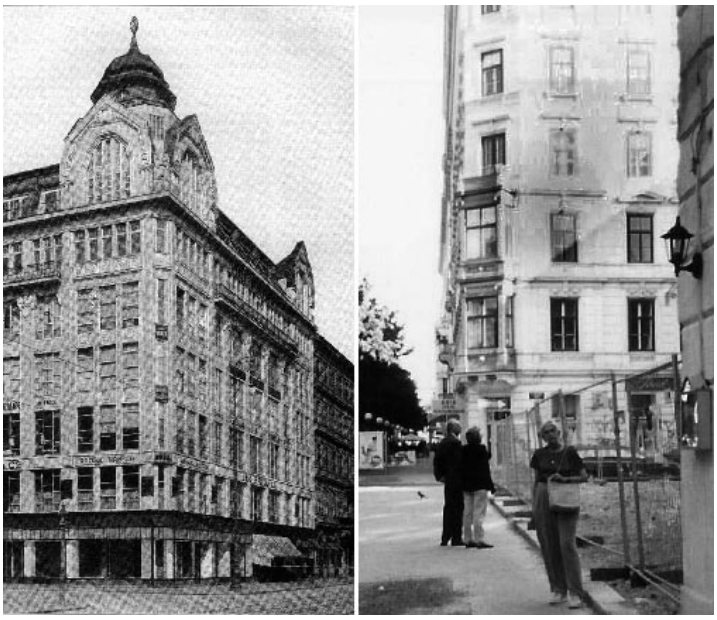
That first day in Vienna, our anticipation of finding great things lead us to take a long walk to an address on the other side of the Danau (Danube) Canal in the 2nd District of the city (Grosse Mohrengasse 37). This was the apartment building where my grandmother was raised with her brothers and sisters.

The door that hides the Jewish Cemetery of Stupava in Slovakia, the ancestral town of the Guttmann family. The cemetery is hidden by a wall next to private homes.

Grosse Mohrengasse 37, the building where my great grandparents, Simon and Berta Guttmann lived. My grandmother, Selma was living there when she married my grandfather, Arthur. Her brother Sam and sister Elsa lived there after their parent's death and until Sam married in 1936.

Although the building is still standing, there is a plaque that marks it as a building that had been firebombed and rebuilt without the detail that would have made it elegant like the ones around it.

Our next stop was Franz Joseph Kai in the 1st District, where my grandmother had a dressmaking factory with her brother and sister. My grandmother, Selma, was a "modern" woman who worked, owned a business and drove a car. The Franz Joseph Kai location faces the canal and boasts many beautiful buildings. Our excitement grew as our walk brought us closer to our destination. Imagine our disappointment when we discovered that the address we sought was the only building that had been recently razed to the ground.



KaiPalast Building, the final location of S. Guttmann, my grandmother's dress factory.

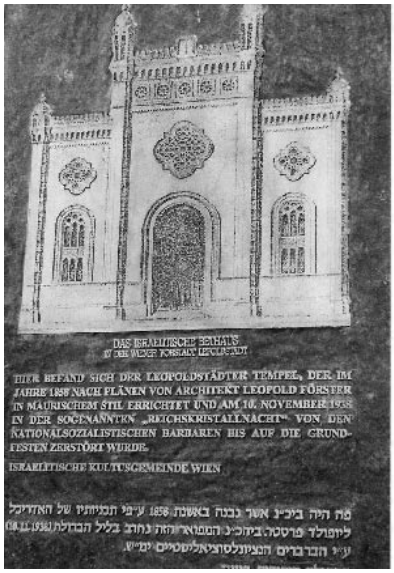
We later found out that this was a landmark called the Kai Palast that even had a website complete with photographs devoted to it. The building was being restored when it had collapsed, necessitating its destruction just a month before our arrival.

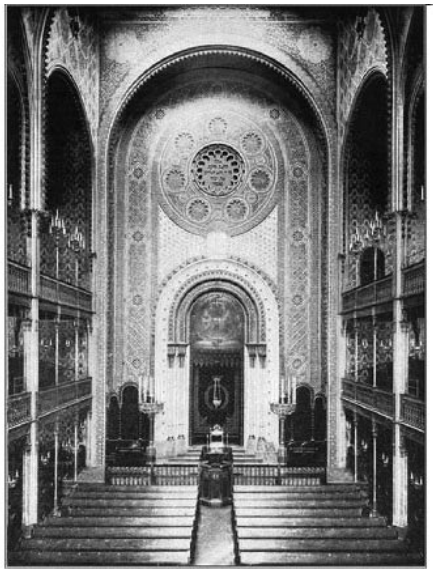
24 Bauernmarkt in the 1st district, another location of S. Guttmann, just over the bridge in Vienna, near the oldest synagogue in the city.

Taborstrasse 5 in the 2nd district, one location of the dressmaking firm of S. Guttmann. It is relatively close to Grosse Mohrengasse.

The next day was devoted to a full-day tour of the sights. While our guide wasn't Jewish, she was very knowledgeable about the sights and the history. I'm sure we saw things that wouldn't have been on a regular tour.

One stop was on Tempelgasse, where the Nazis had destroyed five synagogues, in one of which my grandparents had been married. There is a plaque commemorating the temple and I found pictures in a book of old photos.





Leopoldstaedter Temple on Tempelgasse in Vienna, where Arthur & Selma were married in 1929. The building was destroyed on Kristallnacht, November 11, 1938.

On our way back from Schoenbrunn Palace, we took a detour to the Central Cemetery. I had written to the Schalom Society and they had sent me the grave location for my grandmother's parents. In a row of overgrown tombstones, theirs was beautifully trimmed.

The tombstone of Berta and Simon Guttmann in the Jewish section of the Central Cemetery of Vienna. It reads: "Here rests our beloved parents, Berta Guttmann, died 15 December 1921, Simon Guttmann, died 22 December 1921, Much mourned by their children." (They died just 7 days apart.)

Day Three in Vienna was devoted to my mother's hometown of Floridsdorf. We sent my husband and son off to do things that would be if more interest to them, leaving us to explore without distraction. We started by asking the cabdriver to take us to Am Spitz (On the Point) in Floridsdorf. The town has been incorporated into Vienna since the1880s and is now the 21st District. The drive there goes along the Danau Canal to where it joins the Danau River at the place where they are both crossed by the Floridsdorfer Brücke.

When the cab pulled up to the address, we were delighted to make our first discovery. The building in front of us was the same one in the photo of my grandfather with his gas station.

The Amthaus (Town Hall) of Floridsdorf located at Am Spitz (on the Point). This is the building in front of which Arthur Drucker had his gas station in the 1920s.

The key for the cemetery is held by the car repair place across the street, a fact our driver knew. If we'd tried to gain entrance on our own, we would have wound up leaving in disappointment. We made our way inside and found the tombstone of my grandfather's parents, as well as tombstones of about a dozen other relatives. The driver then dropped us off back in the center of town.

The tombstone of Rosalia and Ignatz Drucker in the Jewish Cemetery of Floridsdorf. It reads: "Here rests our much missed Spouse and Mother, Mrs. Rosalia Drucker, died 8 February 1926 in her 73rd year. Mr. Ignatz Drucker, died 8 February 1938 in his 88th year." (They died on the same day, 12 years apart.)

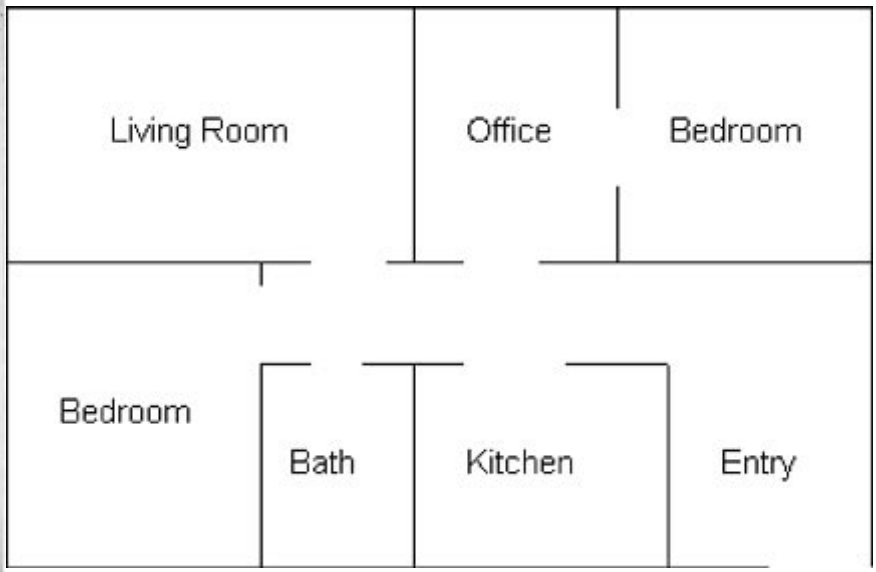
The electronics store at Brunerstrasse 13, now and in the 1930s

There we went to the location of my grandfather's other business, a radio store. In an ironic twist, this location still has a store that sells electronics.

The building is currently under construction and badly in need of repair. Next to the Blumen (flower shop) is an archway. A construction barrier hides the construction in the courtyard. To the left is the entrance to Am Spitz 3. To the right you must walk over planks to reach the entrance of Am Spitz 2.

The Amthaus is directly across the street from Am Spitz 2, where the Drucker family lived until 1938.

Just a half a block away, directly opposite the Amthaus, was the apartment building where my mother lived until she was 8. The building is under construction, so finding the entrance was an adventure. When we found the apartment, I took a photo of her outside, before we rang the doorbell, just in case things didn't go well. We rang the doorbell and, after a little resistance, the current owners let us in and gave us a tour. Once they overcame their suspicion, they were very lovely. The apartment had served as a factory after the war and they'd done major reconstruction when they purchased it 7 years earlier. Still, you could see that it was quite a modest apartment for a family of four, plus a nanny and a grandfather.



Lisa stands in front of the door to Apartment 5.

Our next stop was at a bakery where we had a treat of Viennese coffee (with ice cream and whipped cream), because all this discovering is hard work!

Our last search was for the apartment where my grandfather's parents lived. This building is a landmark and is named for the man after whom the town is also named. It is actually three separate buildings with courtyards in between. This, too, was a significant find because it was the place where some childhood pictures of my mother had been taken.

This is the home of Ignatz & Rosalia Drucker at Hauptstrasse 21, where Arthur lived before his marriage to Selma. It is a famous building, the Floridus Hof. It was named after Floridus Leeb of Klosterneuberg. The graphic on the building's façade depicts the history of the founding of Floridsdorf
• Provost Floridus Leeb of Klosterneuberg
• the launching of the first Danube steam ship Franz 1 (1830)
• the opening of the north path 1837
• the starting the steam tramway (1886)

The next morning, we left for Prague and ended our search for our family's history. Much to our surprise, we liked Prague the best of the three cities, possibly because we could just relax and enjoy ourselves.

This vacation will live forever in all our memories as one of the most significant events of our lives. With preparation and very tolerant family members, I was able to satisfy my genealogic interests while giving everyone an enjoyable experience.

The Floridsdorf Hof is actually three buildings, with courtyards in between. Lisa stands in front of one of the balconies facing the courtyard. It is possibly the location where the photo below was also taken. (The building was bombed and rebuilt)

NOTES:

1. I was able to get death certificates by writing Magistrat der Stat Wien, Magistratsabteilung 8, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Gasometer D, Wein11, Guglgasse 14. Email: post@m08.magwein.gv.at URL: http://www.magwein.gv.at/ma08/

2. Kinga Frojimovics and Géza Komoróczy, *Jewish Budapest : Monuments, Rites, History* (New York : Central European University Press, 1999).

JEWISH FAMILIES IN BUCHAU

—FRIEDRICH R. WOLLMERSHÄUSER

Jews are assumed to have lived in Buchau (now Bad Buchau) in the Middle Ages, but the first mention of the modern Jewish community is in 1575. Buchau was the only Jewish community between the Danube and Lake Constance (besides a few temporary settlements and the community in Laupheim which started in 1724), and the Jews of Buchau had a large area to range for their business. During 19th century, many families from Buchau moved to Ulm, Stuttgart and other towns, as well as overseas.

The Municipal Archives of Bad Buchau are newly catalogued. They are split into two sections:
(1) The archives up to 1802 when Buchau was a Free Imperial City (directly subject to the Emperor).
(2)From 1803 onwards when Buchau was a countryside town in the Kingdom of Württemberg.

The old archives consist of loose files and bound volumes. Some of the loose files deal with lawsuits against and by local Jews. Much more information about the Jews is contained in the bound volumes, especially in the proceedings of the magistrate. These proceedings are available (extant) from 1661 onwards and include detailed entries about the grant of protection (Schutzaufnahme), and many other cases in which Jews were involved.

A list of the Jews in 1722, revised in 1726, was found in file 149 and is published below.

Three details deserve mention:

(A) An inventory of the Jewish cemetery of Bad Buchau has been compiled by Mrs. Charlotte Mayenberger (Irmengardisstr. 4, 88422 Bad Buchau, Germany) and can be purchased from her on CD-ROM for 12 Euro (plus about 8 Euro overseas postage if applicable).

(B) The main source for Jewish genealogy after about 1770 is the family registers of the Jewish community. They

were described by George Arnstein in issue 28 (Winter, 2005) of *Stammbaum*.

(C) Jewish probate records are available from 1828 onwards, the year when Jewish civil law cases became subject to public jurisdiction in Württemberg. The catalogued series of probate records ends in 1849. The later cases are preserved in the room of the former prison and were overlooked when the archives inventory was made.

Jewish families in Buchau in 1722 and 1726

On January 13, 1722, the administration (Kanzlei) of the Imperial City of Buchau on Federsee certified that the following Jewish complete couples (ganze Ehen) and children of 13 years of age or older lived there:

	Complete couples	Children
Abraham Neuburger	1	-
Moyses Einstain	1	1
Abraham Kuen	1	2
Mayer Bernheimb	1	1
Lemble Mendel	1	2
Wolf Isaac	1	1
Simon Bernheimb	1	-
Abrahamb Einstein	1	-
Hürschel Neuburger	1	-
Judas Neuburger	1	-
Leeb Einstein	1	-
Gerschel Wolf	1	-
Salomon Jacob	1	-
Wolf Abrahamb	1	-
David Einstein	1	-
Mendel Kuen	1	-
Isac Khuen	1	-
Isac Bernheimb	1	-
Chaimb Bernheimb	1	-
Isac Leve	1	-

In addition, Leeb Ulmer's widow lived there, thus making 48 heads.

This list was sent to Vienna.

A revised list was delivered to Mainz on 16 June 1726 by Lew Einstein and Isacc Leve, with the following alterations:

	Complete couples	Children
Abraham Kuen, dead, replaced by Abraham Spiro.		
Mayer Bernheimb, dead.		
Lemble Mendel	1	1
Leopold Bernheimb	1	-
Borich Mandle	1	-

Source: Stadtarchiv Bad Buchau, old archives (until 1802), file 149.

DATING THE OLDEST LIST OF JEWISH INHABITANTS IN ALTONA AND HAMBURG

—JONA SCHELLEKENS

The Ashkenazi Jewish community of Altona was founded some time between 1584 and 1612.[1] In 1584 Count Adolf of Schauenburg gave four Jews – the brothers Michael and Abraham, and Abraham and Philip – permission to settle in Altona and Ottensen for ten years. Michael and Abraham were allowed to appoint two other Jews in case Abraham and Philip declined to settle in Altona. It is not clear whether this privilege led to the founding of a Jewish community. If it did, then Shmuel ben Yehuda (died 1621) may have replaced Abraham and Philip, because his tombstone mentions him as the founder of the Jewish Community in Altona.[2] For some time Shmuel, who is called the 'old Samuel' in non-Jewish sources, must have been the only Jew to head a household in Altona, because in the Jewish sources his descendants in Altona and Hamburg carry the family name Altona – a name that only makes sense if initially they were the only Jewish family living there.

In 1612 Count Ernst of Schauenburg gave the Jew Nathan a general letter of protection (Schutzbrief) for Jews to settle in Altona. The letter does not mention any names, but an undated list of seventeen Schutzjuden or protected Jews, heading eight households in Altona and nine in Hamburg, appears after the letter. The list is the oldest evidence for Ashkenazi Jews living in Hamburg. Since it appears immediately after the privilege of 1612, Duckesz (1915) thought it dates from the same year. Graupe, however, argues that this date is too early, because Shmuel ben Yehuda, who died in 1621, is missing.[3] In 1649, the Jews of Hamburg claimed that several of them had already been living there for 22 years .[4] Hence, Graupe prefers a date between 1621 and 1627.[5]

Probably, Graupe's date is also too early. Although in 1915 the cemetery still preserved eleven tombstones from the period 1621-36, none of these appear on the list. This is surprising if the list were indeed from the 1620s. With the help of Duckesz (1915), it is possible to identify eleven of the seventeen heads of households mentioned in the list with people buried in Altona. The match is not always straightforward because the list consists of civil names, while the tombstones mention ceremonial names in Hebrew. Table 1 lists the results of the match. I have numbered the heads of households in Altona A1 to A8 and those in Hamburg H1 to H9.

The earliest date of death provides the latest possible date of the list. If the identification of Marx Nathan (H4)

with Mordechai bar Nathan is correct, then the latest possible date for the list is 1638. Due to the occurrence in the list of one widow heading a household, it is also possible to compute the earliest possible date for the list. Mette is not a very common name. Hence, Mette Nathans (H7) is probably identical with the wife of Nathan Melrich, who died in 1656.[6] In those days it was not unusual for widows to use their husband's first name instead of a patronymic.[7] Thus, instead of Mette, the daughter of Nathan, we should read Mette, the widow of Nathan. She must have been a widow at the time, otherwise her husband would have been listed instead as head of the household. We know from the memoir of Glückel of Hameln that her grandfather Nathan Mehlrich died of the plague, which hit the area in 1638.[8] The date of death of Nathan Melrich gives the earliest possible date for the list. Since the earliest and latest possible dates coincide, the list must date from the year 1638.

NOTES:

1. Heinz Mosche Graupe, *Die Statuten der drei Gemeinden Altona, Hamburg und Wandsbek: Quellen zur jüdischen Gemeindeorganisation im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1973), 13-14.
2. Edmund Duckesz, *Zur Geschichte und Genealogie der ersten Familien der hochdeutschen Israeliten-Gemeinden in Hamburg-Altona* (Hamburg: M. Letzmann, 1915). 6-7, 31.
3. Graupe, 16-17.
4. Max Grunwald, *Hamburgs Deutsche Juden bis zur Auflösung der Dreigemeinden 1811* (Hamburg: Alfred Janssen, 1904), 81.
5. Graupe, 16-17.
6. Druckesz, 42.
7. For a non-Jewish example from another Hanseatic city see: Dooren B. Van, "De voorouders van Reijnier Hoolboom en Henrickjen Brouwer: Nieuwe kwartieren van Laurentien Brinkhorst" [The ancestors of Reijneir Hoolboom and Henrickjen Brouwer: New ancestors of Laurentien Brinkhorst]. *Gens Nostra* 57 (2002): 223 (in Dutch).
8. Glueckel Hameln, *The Memoirs of Glueckel of Hameln, translated with notes by Marvin Lowenthal* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977).

Nr.	Civil name	Jewish name	Died
A1	Abraham Marx	Avraham bar Yoseph Mordechai	1655
A2	Levy Mosy	-	-
A3	Jacob Samuel	Yaakov ben Shmuel (Altona)	1675
A4	Marx Forbst	-	-
A5	Philip Abrahamb	Yitschak Uri bar Avraham / Feibelman Lübke	1640
A6	Meyer	-	-
A7	Joseph Levy	Joseph ben Uri Levi	1642
A8	Arendt Levy	Aharon bar Joseph Segal	1659
H1	Arendt Louri	Rabbi Aharon Luria	1654
H2	Sambson Ru'en	Shimshon bar Reuven (Goldzieher)	1654
H3	Jacob Ruben	-	-
H4	Marx Nathan	Mordechai bar Nathan (Melrich)	1638
H5	Hayen Ruben	Chayim bar Reuven (Fürst)	1653
H6	Lesser Nathan	-	-
H7	Mette Nathans	Mate bat Yaakov, wife of Nathan Melrich	1656
H8	Philipp Heilbut	Philip Yehoshuah bar Yaakov Heilbut	1653
H9	Isaac Heilbut	Yitschak Heilbut	-

Table 1.
Match between list of Jewish inhabitants of Altona and Hamburg and graves

A LETTER FROM THE CAPE

—ADAM YAMEY

"…I want to begin my letter in order by informing you, my dears, of my safe arrival in Cape Town. After a strenuous as well as disagreeable trip of 108[1] days I arrived at last today, the 29th day of August, happy and in good shape". Thus wrote Henry Bergmann (1831-1866), my mother's first cousin twice removed, to his parents[2] in Bavaria in a letter dated 28th August 1849[3], which describes his voyage from England to South Africa. A photocopy of this letter was given to me by a second cousin once removed.[4] After transcribing the letter from its cursive Gothic script into modern Latin script, I attempted to translate it.[5] The content of the letter is described below.

INTO THE ATLANTIC

After writing at length about how concerned he was to have been out of contact with his parents for so long, Henry informed them that after he left London on the 12th of May, he wrote them two letters. The first was written from Gravesend,[6] where he stayed for two days. The second was written after a 14 day journey, when his ship[7] met another ship at the end of the English Channel (his letter would have been passed from his ship to the one which they met). They were in the English Channel for as long as two weeks because, as Henry wrote, "…we had poor wind, and since the English Channel is a very dangerous sea, we had to drop anchor every evening and during those three weeks we were neither able to distance ourselves from the coast nor to get out of the Channel…" but they finally managed, "… and as soon as we reached the high seas we had better wind; but fate was not with us and after a few days we again encountered slack wind; and this changed back and forth until we came to the Line[8] where for a short time we had excellent wind again." On the 9th of June, the ship passed the island of Madeira, and 4 days later, Palma, one of the Canary Islands, was passed. On the 20th of June, they sailed past the Portuguese island of St Antonio, one of the Cape Verde Islands.[9] All of these islands could be seen with the naked eye.

A MUTINY ON BOARD

Before crossing the Equator, the ship was imperilled by an incident that broke out on board. A sailor whose duty it was to man the rudder (or helm[10]) was compelled to remain at his post for ten minutes longer than the

usual 2 hour duty.[11] Henry described what followed: "This sailor however, quit the helm, saying to the captain, who perchance was on deck, that since there was such a delay in his being relieved, he was not going to handle the helm any longer. Since sailors are bound to the strictest obedience, the Captain ordered this sailor to return immediately to his place, and, as a penalty, to remain an additional two hours at the helm, but the sailor refused stubbornly and was insolent[12] to the captain whereupon the latter put him in iron fetters. As soon as the other sailors, 14 in number, saw that their comrade was in fetters, they refused all service and none wanted to take over the helm. The only ones that stood by the captain were the senior and junior mates who, however were not regarded as ordinary sailors, but as officers of the ship, and who after the captain had the highest positions on the ship. Since no one agreed to take charge of the helm, and as the sea happened to be rather stormy, the captain was now obliged to load his pistols abruptly and to provide them to each of the two mates and to several robust steerage passengers who went with the latter among the sailors to force them back to their duty. As soon as the sailors saw the captain and the other men approaching with weapons, they armed themselves with long knives. Now the battle started; but within 10 minutes the sailors were overwhelmed and their leaders put into chains; still, during the mêlée the senior mate was dangerously wounded by one of the sailors with a stab wound to the temple. You can easily imagine our anxiety…" Fortunately, the rebellion was subdued before the ship was further endangered.

ANOTHER REVOLT, AND CROSSING THE EQUATOR

Soon after the sailor's mutiny, the steerage passengers revolted against the captain complaining that they were badly treated and badly fed. On some days they were given rotten meat, and on others nothing at all. Because of this, Henry felt obliged spend a few pounds (i.e. Sterling) to 'upgrade' from the steerage class to a better cabin,[13] where he felt more comfortable and was treated better.

On the July 7, the ship crossed the Equator. The sun burned dreadfully, and it was uncomfortable to stay anywhere except on deck, as below deck it was oppressively sultry. Henry wrote that they saw many ships, and if one was travelling homewards, back towards Europe, he would sit down and write home with great pleasure, but always his happiness was dashed and his work to no avail, as his ship could never get close enough to the other ships to exchange mail on account of the roughness of the sea.

ON WHALES, ON BOARD, AND ON WATER

Henry wrote, "We saw tremendous whales which in my estimation were at least 60 to 70 feet[14] long. Twice we were lucky enough to catch, with a big hook, fish of about 3 hundredweights,[15] but these are not good for eating, but are only of use for preparing oil. We obtain the well known whalebone[16] from their strong backbone." To pass many tedious hours on board, "We caught birds en masse …. they were caught by means of a fish hook with a morsel of meat attached, and since these birds seldom find sufficient nourishment on the high sea, they are easily caught with a fishing rod. Several times we caught some which were as big as swans." After describing this, Henry continued by giving an account of his daily routine at sea.

He woke up at 9 in the morning, and washed, for as he remarked, cleanliness was an essential on board, and was obligatory.[17] Breakfast consisted of eggs, butter, coffee, tea and bread. Henry spent the morning on deck, reading and writing. At 2 p.m., a 'midday' meal was served. It included soup, roasts and pastry.[18] After luncheon, he used the afternoon for drawing[19] and reading. At 5 p.m., the passengers had afternoon tea,[20] a meal resembling breakfast. Henry usually spent the evening on deck where he killed time with all manner of diversions. Before going to bed at 10 p.m., he ate a supper of butter, rice and bread.

During the last four weeks of the voyage, the water store on the ship became severely depleted. Water was

rationed: each passenger was given three measures[21] of water, which had to be used for cooking, washing and drinking. This was little, but Henry wrote that, by abstemious usage, it was enough to manage with. As the voyage was longer than, expected, those on board had to make do with less at the end, so there was much less available for washing. Henry found washing with seawater unsatisfactory because, "… the salt contained in it only tends to make one dirty rather than clean."[22]

"LAND AHOY"

A frightfully heavy gale brewed up when the ship was about three days away from Cape Town. The ship was lifted by waves as high as houses, and then flung down by them. The ship swayed dreadfully, and no one could sit or stand without being attached to something. At night anxiety prevented sleep. All that they could do was to try to avoid falling off their bunks. Henry wrote,"Some times the waves collided with our ship, lifting themselves high as a tower, seeming as if they wanted to swallow us." Henry wrote that he who has never seen such a tumultuous sea nor has been acquainted with such thundering mountainous waves has no idea of what a storm is. The ship was in a very dangerous situation. It was only a few hundred miles from land. For three days the captain could not use his navigational instruments that relied on the sun, it being obscured by heavy clouds. After six days, the storm abated, and it was possible to use the sails again

"On August 27, the day after the storm, we suddenly saw land and since the captain was unable to determine the position of the sun, he was compelled to head straight for it (i.e. the land), as he initially believed it was the Table Mountain.[23] However, as we came closer we found that it was not the land we had hoped for, and thus it was necessary to change course." On the following morning, Henry saw Table Mountain in the distance. He saw green fields and hills as well as the town, and thanked God for this. The end of the journey was a great relief for him. He had not found it agreeable to be four months at sea struggling with all manner of dangers and discomforts. At least for him sea sickness was not one of these: alone amongst his fellow passengers he escaped this because, he thought, he had spent most of his time out on deck in the healthy, fresh sea air.

THE CAPE OF GOOD(?) HOPE

Henry's ship arrived in the harbor of Cape Town at two p.m. on the 28th of August, laid anchor at half past two, and Henry set foot on land at three p.m. The first thing that Henry did was to search for Mr Bergtheil in order to give him a letter.[24] To his great disappointment he discovered that Bergtheil was not in Cape Town, but in Port Natal[25] (now known as "Durban"[26]), and would be there for a few months. Now, Henry found himself in an awkward situation: "…a stranger in a strange land, with little money and lacking friends and good counsel." The only thing he could do, " is to look for a commercial position and to remain with it until I acquire sufficient resources and knowledge to start a moderate business of my own." Since his trip used up most of his money, "it would no doubt be difficult ... to conduct a business, unless I can be supported by sufficient credit for which I, as a stranger, can hardly hope for the time being.

Furthermore, I am not yet knowledgeable about the methods in which business is conducted here and therefore I must for the moment observe and wait until chance plays something suitable into my hands, enabling me to assure my further career. … I have taken private lodging, since a hotel is terribly expensive; even there, I have to pay a lot, although it is the cheapest accommodation I could find. I am paying 4 Pounds a month, which in German money is 48 fl (Florins?). For this, I have a nice spacious room and good food; however, I think I will not spend more than 4 weeks in this house, since it is a bit too expensive for me and in the mean-

time I will look for different quarters out in the country, which would only cost me half as much. However, at the beginning I have to live in town in order to get better acquainted with local conditions. As far as I can see, here roast pigeons are as unlikely to fly into your mouth[27] as in Germany and one must leave one's mouth open for a long time until these dear little creatures deign to walk in by themselves." Sounding a bit disillusioned, Henry wrote that the grand ideas one often harbours about a foreign land often turn out to be nothing.

CONVICTS AND "KAFFIRS"

On its last page, the tone and handwriting[28] of Henry's letter changes. His attitude towards his home land appears to have altered by the time he wrote this part of the letter. Maybe, the long sea voyage gave him time to reflect on the situation he had left behind, and the plethora of new experiences he encountered in the Cape gave him a new perspective on life – he underwent 'a sea change.'[29]

He asks (almost triumphantly), "Well, you German Jews, do you not yet have the emancipation[30] that you so long for? Here, the Jew becomes emancipated[31] by positioning himself as an equal to the very best in honorableness whereby he himself is treated as a man of honor, since the outcasts of German Jewry are, thank God,[32] not yet here."

Henry concluded his letter by writing about events in Cape Town. He described how the British Government had sent a ship containing criminals to Cape Town, in order to land them there, so that in one way or another they might become worthy of their land – i.e. to redeem themselves by useful labour. Henry wrote that the English in Cape Town would not stand for this, and protested to the Government, so effectively that the ship containing convicts was sent back.

Henry was describing a very significant event in British colonial history. In 1848, the third Earl Grey[33] (1802-1894), the Colonial Secretary in London, decided to send a batch of Irish convicts, driven to crime by a famine in 1845, to South Africa, where a penal settlement was to have been established, with some of the safer convicts being hired out to do labour for the inhabitants of the Cape. A convict ship, the "Neptune"[34] was sent to Cape Town, but before its arrival on the 19th September 1849, the inhabitants of Cape Town set up an association to protest against the landing of convicts in their colony.[35] Although the Governor of the Cape had sufficient soldiers to be able to have enforced the landing of these convicts, they remained on board ship at anchor in Table Bay for about 5 months, as the protesting inhabitants of Cape Town had resolved not to provide food or sustenance to the convicts should they have been landed. The protester's cause was championed by the London Member of Parliament, Sir Charles Adderley, who persuaded Earl Grey to abandon the project.[36] The protest having been successful, the ship with its miserable cargo continued on towards Tasmania. Henry was witness to the first successful revolt by a British Colony against the British Government since the American Revolution.[37] Henry then asked, "What would you Germans have done?" in this situation, implying that that they might not have put up such a determined show of protest as the inhabitants of Cape Town. He concluded this topic with the words, "Whilst writing this, I forgot that I am a German myself, but in the face of this example, it is possible that I have already lost the German timidity". This is just as well, because Henry concludes his letter by mentioning that the "Kaffirs" were again stirring, and that a new war with them was in prospect. Indeed, 1850 saw the outbreak of the "Fifth Kaffir War", now known as the "Eighth Frontier War"[38] which according to the novelist and travel writer Anthony Trollope[39] who visited South Africa in the 1870s was the bloodiest of these wars between the British and the Xhosa.

WITH MR. CARO

At the end of his letter, Henry put an address, to which his mail should be addressed: "Mr H. Bergmann, Care of Mr. P Caro, Graaff Reinett (sic), Cape of Good Hope." Graaff Reinet[40] was the location of one of the trading houses owned by the Mosenthal family, Jews from Kassel. This store was opened in late 1842 by the brothers Adolph and Joseph Mosenthal and was managed by Phoebus (Feibusch[41]) Caro, a Jew from Posen (now Poznań) in Prussian Poland. He was a steerage passenger on board a ship, the "Waterloo", bound for Tasmania, which ran aground off the Cape on the 28th August 1842.[42] He was one of 90 survivors, and landed in South Africa destitute.[43] There, he met Adolph and Joseph Mosenthal, and the latter, remembering his own sad predicament when he had arrived penniless in Cape Town in 1833, offered Caro employment. Caro ran the Mosenthals' store in Graaff Reinet, and eventually became a wealthy and prominent citizen of the town. Maybe, Caro recollecting his difficult beginnings in the Colony had some sympathy for young Henry Bergmann who was working with him. In any case, it is not with sympathy that a business becomes successful and doubtless Caro and the Mosenthals saw in Henry qualities that they recognised as being useful for the promotion of their business. They were not to be disappointed, as Henry went on to become a partner in the Mosenthal's business and ran the branch of their business in Aliwal North, in his own name, until his death in 1866.[44]

SOME "MERCANTILE GENEALOGY" IN SOUTH AFRICA

Henry was eighteen years old when he left Germany. His reasons for emigrating cannot be determined from his letter. He may have left to escape the political turbulence that started in 1848. It affected his country[45] and most of Europe. Other reasons may have been: to escape the anti-Semitic atmosphere in Bavaria, and to seek his fortune. Clearly, he set off with some idea of doing the latter as he carried with him an introduction to Mr Bergtheil, who might have been able to help him with a business career.

Jonas Bergtheil[46] (1819-1901) was born in Bavaria. In 1834, aged 15 years, he joined his cousin Gabriel Kilian who had opened a trading establishment in Cape Town, a branch of the Frankfurt based firm Kilian and Stein (it was as a clerk in this firm that Joseph Mosenthal began his commercial career in the Cape in 1839). In 1843, Bergtheil left the Cape for Natal where he became a partner in the Natal Cotton Company, which was established to grow cotton in Natal. However, shortages of suitable local labour led to Bergtheil's attempts to import labour from Germany. His first attempt was to persuade poor Jewish families to migrate (from Bavaria[47]) to Natal to work as labourers. This almost succeeded, but was foiled when some malicious soul spread the rumour that once these Jews arrived in Africa, they would be sold as slaves.[48] Instead, he persuaded 200 farm workers from the north of Germany to settle in Natal in 1847, where their descendants still live. I speculate that the reason that Henry Bergmann had a letter to Bergtheil rather to someone else was that, being of Bavarian origin, Bergtheil may have been better known to Henry than other German Jews who had opened businesses in South Africa.

Henry's letter not only provides a very graphic description of the trials and tribulations of an emigrant sailing from Europe to Africa, but also describes the conditions he encountered on arrival at his destination. The precariousness of communication in the 1840s is illustrated in his letter. Letters were carried by ship, and sometimes passed from ship to ship, taking journeys of unpredictable durations. When he set off for Cape Town, Henry expected to find Mr Bergtheil there. Four or more months later, Bergtheil had left, and even if he tried to inform Henry of this, the probability of this news reaching Henry would have been small.

Henry's journey to South Africa was of importance to my background, as reports of his successes there probably encouraged the emigration to South Africa of many other of his relatives, including Henry's brother

Ludwig (born 1835), and cousins including Jacob Seligmann(1846-1900)[49] and his brother Sigmund(1856-1939) who were both born in Ichenhausen. Sigmund, the grandfather of the person who gave me my copy of Henry's letter, followed in Henry's footsteps, but more than twenty-five years after him, and, in 1885, founded a trading company in South Africa, a business which my mother's father and Sigmund's nephew, Iwan Bloch (1886-1931),[50] left Germany to join.

NOTES:

1. At roughly the same time of the year, but in 1842, a ship called the "Aber crombie Robinson", left the UK 2nd June, and arrived at the Cape 25th August (see: http://www.mcgonagall-online.org.uk/poems/mpgaber.htm) – a journey of 84 days. M. Nathan wrote in his book *The Voortrekkers of South Africa* (publ. by Central News Agency : Cape Town, 1937) that in the 1840s, sea voyages between England and the Cape frequently took 90 days. The missionary David Livingstone took "three months" to reach Cape Town in 1840 (See "Missionary Travels and Researches" , by D. Livingstone, published 1857). So, it seems from these examples, that the 108 days voyage taken by Henry's ship, without stops on the way, was quite long.
2. Henry Bergmann's parents were Lazarus Bergmann (c. 1800, Dittenheim-1888, Augsburg) and Klara (Gluck) Seligmann (1807, Ichenhausen – 1884)
3. The only date on the letter is 28 Aug 1849, but it is clear from the contents of the letter that it was sent a considerable time after this.
4. She bears the same relationship to Henry as did my late mother.
5. I have been ably, and patiently assisted by both John Englander, a cousin of mine (and a first cousin three times removed of Henry Bergmann) who contacted me for the first time after he had read an article that I had published in *Stammbaum*, and by Peter Urbach, a family friend. The final interpretation of the contents of the letter is mine, and my two helpers are in no way responsible for any errors that I may have inadvertently introduced.
6. Gravesend is located on the south coast of the Thames estuary, about 45 Km from Tower Bridge in the City of London.
7. Not, as yet, identified.
8. I assume that by "Line", Henry was referring to the Equator.
9. The Cape Verde Islands gained independence from Portugal in 1975 (see: http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/cv.html).
10. "das Steuerruder" in the letter.
11. It seems that by 1849, the British habit of "working to rule" was well established!
12. Henry uses the words "erlaubte sich ungebührliche Reden gegen den Kapitan", which I have taken to mean that the sailor was insolent.
13. Henry uses the word "Kajüte" , which translates as 'cabin'.
14. Henry writes, "60 bis 70 Fuss lang", indicating his familiarity with British units of measurement.
15. I have translated Henry's word "Zentner" as hundredweight (50 kilogrammes: see Cassell's *German and English Dictionary* , 10th Edition, 1952).
16. A 90 foot whale can produce up to 120 barrels of oil, and the bone, or "Baleen", (not strictly a bone) was used for a variety of every day products in the 19th century (e.g. Buggy whips, Carriage springs, Corset stays, Fishing rods, Hoops for women's skirts, Umbrella ribs). See: http://www.coolantarctica.com/Antarctica%20fact%20file/wildlife/whales/whaling2.htm)
17. One of my father's distant cousins Isaac Katzin (1866-1931), from Lithuania, made his fortune in Cape Town during WW1 by having the contract for laundering the bed-linen on the Royal Navy's ships that docked in the town: the prevention of disease on board ship was then, as in 1849, of supreme importance.
18. Henry uses the words, "Mehlspeisse nebst Dessert", which I have translated as „pastry".
19. A family history written by Robert Lerchenthal (1880-1956), a descendant of one of Henry's siblings, states that Henry was a fine artist, whose drawing skills could be compared with those of Albrecht Dürer.
20. Afternoon tea is not to be confused with the more substantial English repast known as "high tea" (see : http://whatscookingamerica.net/History/HighTeaHistory.htm).
21. Henry wrote, "3 Mass Wasser ". Cassell's Dictionary (op. cit.) gives one meaning of this word as 'quart measure', and the Leo on-line dictionary (http://www.leo.org/) states that in the Austrian Südtirol, the word "Mass" can refer to a litre (of beer).
22. My father told me that before WW2, when he travelled by ship between South Africa and the UK, baths on board were routinely filled with sea-water – he did not travel first class.
23. Table Mountain: the flat topped mountain around whose base Cape Town is situated.
24. Presumably, this was some kind of letter of recommendation or introduction.

25. Mr Bergtheil, in Henry's letter, was most likely Jonas Bergtheil who arrived in South Africa in 1823, and was responsible for important economic developments in the colony of Natal, including the setting up of a cotton industry there (see various references to him in *The Jews of South Africa*, ed. by G. Saron & L Hotz, publ. by Oxford University Press: Cape town, 1955).
26. Port Natal was renamed "Durban" 14 years before Henry's arrival in Cape Town, and now bears the Zulu name "eThekwini" (see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Durban).
27. Here, Henry is using a version of the European saying, which means that nothing will be gained without effort (see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eurolinguistics).
28. The first eight pages of his nine page letter are neatly written, and quite easy to decipher, but the final page is written with smaller letters and not at all neatly.
29. See Shakespeare's "Tempest".
30. After the Edict of June 1813, which raised the Bavarian Jew's hopes of increased emancipation, there was little to satisfy them – indeed, their situation got worse over the next few decades (See : "Between Orthodoxy and Reform, Revolution and Reaction : The Jewish Community in Ichenhausen: 1813-1861" by L Harries-Schumann in *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, Vol. XLII, 1997, page 40).
31. In South Africa, even in the 19th century, being European (i.e. white) and not African was more important than being Jewish or not, as was the case in Germany.
32. Henry wrote, "Gott sei dank" – he spells out God's name.
33. He was the son of Charles Grey, in whose honour the well-known Earl Grey Tea is named (see: http://coffeetea.about.com/cs/typesoftea/a/earlgrey.htm).
34. One of the convicts on board this ship was the Irish radical John Mitchell (1818-1875), who eventually went to the USA (see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Mitchel).
35. For more detail, see: " The Times" (London) 15th and 18th September 1849, and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cape_Colony_from_1806_to_1870 , and http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/C/CA/CAPE_COLONY.htm .
36. The main road in Cape Town was renamed "Adderley Street" in gratitude for his having persuaded Earl Grey to change his mind about the convicts.
37. See: http://www2.fh-fulda.de/.../wolf/One%20Culture%20Nation%20Leadership%20Studies/South%20Africa/south_africa.pdf
38. For this and details about the conflict, see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cape_Colony_from_1806_to_1870, and Frontiers by N Mostert, publ. by Knopf:: New York, 1992.
39. See his "South Africa", vol. 1 (First published 1877).
40. About 790 kilometres, north-east and inland from Cape Town.
41. Information from Linda Behr who works for South African Friends of Beth Hatefutsoth. She informs me that Phoebus Caro was a son of the educator and writer David Caro. For more about the Caro family, see; http://www.sefarad.org/publication/lm/017/kara.html .
42. See: http://www.geocities.com/heartland/ridge/2216/waterimg.html .
43. See: *Merchant Pioneers* by D. Fleischer & A. Caccia,, published by Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 1983.
44. See my article in *Stammbaum*, Issue 25, 2004.
45. In Ichenhausen, the birthplace of Henry's mother, and, later (by 1860), the dwelling place of his parents, many Jews were involved in the revolutionary activity of 1848/9, and some of them left Europe because of their involvement (see Harries-Schumann, pages 14-18).
46. For information about Bergtheil, see : http://www.thewestvilleco-op.co.za/Museum.shtml#Jonas_Bergtheil and http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jonas_Bergtheil .
47. Information form *Dictionary of South African Biography* sent to me by Anne Lahmkuhl.
48. See "A History of the Jews in South Africa" by L. Herrman, publ. by south African Jewish Board of Deputies: Johannesburg, 1935, pages 103-104.
49. After a while in South Africa, he moved to Illinois. (See my article in SA-SIG Newsletter: http://www.jewishgen.org/SAfrica/newsletter/SA-SIG-NL-2005-12.pdf , pages 4 -12.)
50. For a biography of Iwan, see: http://www.jewishgen.org/SAfrica/newsletter/SA-SIG-NL-2004-09.pdf .

OFFICERS AND MILITARY LEGACIES

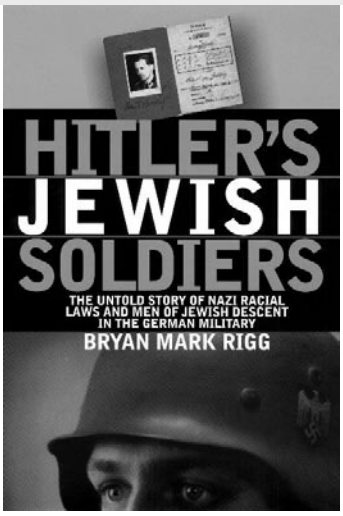
—GEORGE ARNSTEIN

A recurring question asks whether Jews could become officers in the German army. The answer is affirmative, but clearly there was prejudice. Here is a broad review of the evidence that also touches on privates, noncommissioned officers, promotions, and on the Austrian military.

WORLD WAR II

A detailed recent book by Bryan Mark Rigg has the provocative title of *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers*.[1] The author estimates that there were some 150,000 participants, almost all of whom were – to use the Nazi terminology – half or quarter Jews, or some stipulated percentage. A significant number were officers, including generals, admirals and even a field marshal, with lots of medals and decorations in recognition of their service for the fatherland. Most were assimilated Germans who often did not know or recognize their Jewish ancestry. Some were "aryanized," often by Hitler's personal decision; numerous others were discharged, assigned to penal battalions, or suffered other indignities. Included are naval personnel who, in earlier wars played at best a minor role.

EDITOR'S NOTE
For additional material on the status of intermarriage and German-Jews, see: Nathan Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart: Intermarriage and the Rosenstrasse Protest* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996).



WORLD WAR I

The various German states – some were kingdoms in 1914 – differed in their policies as to who could be commissioned. Bavaria was more accepting than Wuerttemberg for example. Rigg has some historical data to show that there were Jews in the Austrian, Prussian and Bavarian armies, even a mention of Rabbi Leo Baeck who was awarded the Iron Cross First Class in WWI when Germany had a draft. All able-bodied men had to serve. They were trained, then were assigned to reserve units so they could readily be mobilized. In this class-conscious society there also was a provision to serve as an *Einjaehriger*, literally a one-year [trainee] who volunteered, provided he was eligible. Somewhat simplistically this meant graduation [*Abitur*] from a *Gymnasium* or *Realschule* which had selective admissions and tuition payments, thus favoring the bourgeoisie. Effectively these were officer candidates, a bit – and I am stretching things – like our American ROTC.

Some Jews thus became officers but promotions were very rare.

The *Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten* was founded in 1919 by Captain Leo Loewenstein. The intent was to counter the allegation that Jews were draft dodgers, cowards and other terrible things. In 1928/32 the association undertook a census of those who had died, published in 1932 as *Die juedischen Gefallenen des deutschen Heeres, der deutschen Marine und der deutschen Schutztruppen* which listed 10,275 Jews by name. About 2,000 were Jewish officers of whom some 16.1% or 322 died. (There are more details, suggesting that casualties[2] were even higher.)

From *Philo Lexikon* 1935, the German Handbook of Jewish Knowledge: "The Committee on War Statistics, which included Jewish organizations, undertook from 1917 to 1921 a complete census of those who participated in WW I campaigns. After multiple reviews, there was published *German Jews as Soldiers in the 1914/18 War* by Segal and Silbergleit, Berlin: Philo, 1922:"

> Of about 100,000 Jews who were mobilized, 80,000 were "at the front." And 12,000 died. 34,000 were decorated, 23,000 were promoted, including about 2,000 officers.

Another compilation was *Juedische Flieger im Weltkrieg* by Felix Theilhaber, 1924 plus a 1932 Supplement. Herb Mautner translated and edited the long list of air crews, pilots, observers and photographers in WW I with names, rank and details which appeared in Stammbaum, Issue 11, June 1997 pp. 24-27. (Reminder: in the U.S Army Air Corps all pilots, bombardiers and navigators were commissioned officers.)

Military rank also may be discerned from two lists published by Carol Baird in *Stammbaum* Issue 14, December 1998 pp. 14-15, part of her article on WW I German military cemeteries in France. When the Wehrmacht occupied France in WW II, the tombstones of Jewish German WWI dead in France were systematically "edited" so they came to read "Unknown." The star of David was replaced by a cross, justified by the assertion that no Jew could have served and died for Germany.

Bavaria

Especially for WW I deaths in Bavaria, there is a detailed web site with some English-language content at : www.hdbg.de/gedenktafeln/content

This shows much of the contents of the second (1997) edition of a book by Israel Schwierz who wrote the very good documentation of Jewish "stone" traces in Bavaria, *Steinerne Zeugnisse juedischen Lebens in Bayern*. Munich 1988, second edition 1997 . He is a reserve captain in the Bundeswehr ("Headmaster, reserve captain BW. Lay leader and religious instructor at the Jewish community of the US-Army at Würzburg.") His book lists, often with photos, the WW I memorial tablets, and all known cemeteries in Bavaria. The site seems to include all or most of Schwierz's book. When memorial tablets are shown -- there are numerous photos, usually with printed lists next to the tablets that often are difficult to read – the text singles out Jewish casualties, while other tables show only Jewish war dead. An occasional entry is still different, like the memorial in Regensburg which lists three concentration camp victims in 1942.

English Access. For those who know little or no German, here are suggestions on how to use the site: There are English versions of the *Einleitung* [Intro] combined with the *Vorwort* [Preface], followed by the *Ortsregister* [List of (Bavarian) localities] which is useful and accessible, with a reminder that *Unteroffizier* is a noncommissioned rank. Searches of the web site are possible by name or locality; try: *Suchen* [Search].

By all means read the Introduction; about a third of the way down, it refers to the infamous 1916 *Judenzaehlung*, an anti-Semitic census intended to show that Jews were draft dodgers or served only in the rear echelon.

Under *Literatur* there is a comprehensive bibliography through which I learned that Captain Schwierz also

wrote a book memorializing Jewish war dead for **Thueringen**: *Für das Vaterland starben -Denkmäler und Gedenktafeln für jüdische Soldaten in Thüringen*, Eduard. Krem-Bardischewski-Verlag, Aschaffenburg, 1996. 69 pages, paperback, ISBN 3-929167-13-1.

EARLIER WARS

Jews were allowed to serve and die for Kaiser or King and for the fatherland as early as the so-called War of Liberation (from Napoleon, 1813) where some became officers but rarely were promoted to higher rank. During the 19th century there was increasing discrimination, at first religious, later racist so that until WWI Jews could not routinely serve as officers, although the Kingdom of Bavaria was more accepting and even had a Jewish surgeon-general. The Kingdom of Saxony permitted exceptions. Prussia had especially hostile attitudes, according to Schwierz.

As mentioned earlier, Germany before and after unification (1871) showed variations.

For example, Hugo Barbeck joined the 14th Bavarian Infantry Regiment in Nuremberg in 1868 as a volunteer and took part in the German-French war of 1870/71 (we know it as the Franco-Prussian war), initially as a sergeant. He was heavily wounded in the battle of Sedan after being promoted to lieutenant for his bravery and having received the Iron Cross 2nd Class.

AUSTRIA

Between 1781 and 1789 several regulations were issued by or under Joseph II. Jews were awarded new rights. The intent, as explained by Erwin Emanuel Dreifuss in his 1927 Heidelberg dissertation (cf *Stammbaum* Issue 16, January 2000) was, among other things, to achieve better administrative control over an empire which stretched from the Adriatic with the Austrian port of Trieste, to today's Ukraine. The laws imposed new duties such as men to serve in the military. Not incidentally they called for adoption of "German" names, very useful, genealogically speaking, especially because the practice soon was emulated in German jurisdictions, e.g. Bavaria 1813.

An exhibit (with catalog) on "Jews in the Habsburg Armed Forces" opened on June 3 1993 at the B'nai B'rith Klutznick National Jewish Museum in Washington, D.C. Produced by Erwin A. Schmidl, *Studia Judaica Austria* XI, 1989, "Juden in der K. [u.] k. Armee 1788-1918." Two items:

-One of the first Jewish officers, Maximilian von Arnstein [no kin] was commissioned in 1809, died in action in 1813 at Colmar, a first lieutenant in the 4th Hussar Regiment;
-Two sons of Sigmund Freud, Ernst and Martin, were reserve lieutenants in 1916.

Switzerland: Ruth Dreifuss, past president of the Swiss Confederation, in an interview on Feb 1 1999 with *Spiegel*: "In the past there were almost no [Swiss] Jewish [military] officers or senior officials. This has changed very much. Of course there still are prejudices and ignorant persons who consider Jews as foreigners…"

NOTES:

1. Reviewed in *Stammbaum* Issue 24. Winter 2004.
2. Reminder: Casualties are not confined to those who died, but include wounded, prisoners, missing.
3. hdbg stands for House of Bavarian History.
4. Second edition has a different title: "Fűr das Vaterland starben; bayerisch-jűdische Soldaten." ISBN 3-929167-18-2. €17.40 plus shipping.

EDITOR'S NOTE

For possible illustrations, memorials, tombstones, try the Schwierz site or the many links via www.Alemannia-judaica.de

THE GERMAN-JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ARGENTINA

—JORGE RUSCHIN

This research paper honors the German speaking Jewish community that immigrated to Argentina. These hardy émigrés have had a tough fight for survival in a land distant from their birthplace. I wish to document for future descendants of this community, the experiences, testimonies, sufferings, and joys of their ancestors.

It is my intention that not only the larger Argentine Jewish community, but also the world Jewish community, should understand the reasons why this battered group has developed and grown in its unique way. This might help create a better understanding of the German-Jewish Argentine community. I am also trying develop a larger picture, though I am focusing on my own experiences, having grown up proudly in the very heart of this community.

INTRODUCTION

The vast majority of the German-Jewish immigration to Argentina took place between 1933 and 1941. However, 90% of the influx occurred between 1936 and 1939, with the exodus from Germany reaching its peak in 1937.

From 1933 to 1935, a small group immigrated to Argentina, a group which included the real visionaries, individuals who played a pivotal role in the events that were to take place in the later period. They were also crucial to the arrival of the great majority of immigrants, since they were the only ones who could process entry applications to the country through the so-called "llamadas." There were many other people who didn't have this option; hence they had to choose illegal routes, either to Argentina or to other South American countries.

Between 1939 and 1941, a group of stragglers came in, especially the 1941 group who were called " the myth of the last boat " since they emigrated to wherever they could, under the worst conditions, and were composed mostly of former concentration camp prisoners. There was also a small group who emigrated in the 1920`s, but under conditions totally different from the ones who had been expelled by the Nazis. They immigrated to Argentina by free choice, bringing work contracts from German companies dealing in grains.

Of the 537,000 Jews who emigrated from German speaking countries, 324,000 reached the American continents: 212,500 went to the United States, 45,000 to Argentina, 25,500 to Brazil, 12,000 to Chile, 7,000

to Uruguay, 5,000 to Bolivia and the rest spread throughout other South American countries. Countries like Bolivia and Paraguay became transitory homes, as these emigrants continued their journeys to the countries where their families had arrived in large numbers.

THE YECKES

Eastern European Jews called the German Jews "yeckes", a word that can sometimes have a slightly pejorative connotation. The word "yecke" is a Yiddish term, derived from the German word "Jacke", which means jacket, descriptive because German Jews were known to dress more formally. Though the speaker of the term may have considered the term derisive, often the listener might have considered the term proudly. For the "yeckes " this was not an offense — quite the contrary — it was something that made them feel unique and different from the rest, and they were honored by it.

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRATION

There were many characteristics, which marked the immigration process. Through my research, I have identified several relevant ones. It should be highlighted that the conditions that the "yeckes " had to face when coming to Argentina were different from ones that German Jews faced when reaching the United States. The latter found the language easier to learn because of the similarity in the roots of the languages, and English quickly overtook German as the language spoken. Further, the North American Anglo-Saxon customs were familiar to the immigrants, leading to a faster and better integration. Quite the opposite was the fate of their Argentine counterparts, since the language was completely new. The Argentine customs were also radically different from the German ones to which they were accustomed .

FIRST CHARACTERISTIC: BIPOLARITY

"Bipolarity" was one of the most outstanding characteristics of this group of immigrants. I define bipolarity as the manifestation of a conflicted mental state, shown in two ways – internal and external.

By internal, I mean the emotional trauma the German Jews had to go through when in Argentina. They were constantly trapped by ambivalent feelings: They couldn't accept their uprooting. They hadn't chosen to emigrate; they were forced to leave, and they were forced to accept Argentina as their destination. If they had had the opportunity, they would surely have chosen to go somewhere else. Although they were thankful to a country that had welcomed them, they did not want to reject the culture of their youth — which they were also ambivalent about. Their days went by longing for their lost nation, from which they had been kicked out. This is the same nation for which they had fought for proudly during WWI, and where they were later humiliated, tortured and murdered.

I still remember my grandfather showing me medals that he had won for having bravely defended his native Germany during World War I, "Das eisene Kreuz" (Iron Cross). He used to show them proudly, as a protective shield. He thought that by having those medals nothing bad was going to happen to him. But his service too his "homeland" meant nothing, and he had to make a new start in Argentina, an inhospitable country.

Memories come to my mind of stories told by my parents about my uncles who had resisted departure: "Wir gehen nicht in Urwald (we are not going to the jungle). They didn't leave, and they were killed.The German Jews lived physically in Argentina but they thought often of Germany. Obviously not of Nazi Germany, but a former, cultural Germany — one of Beethoven, Mozart, Einstein and other outstanding figures. It was the Germany where their ancestors had lived in towns by the Rhine since the 4th century, and that they had helped

to develop both culturally and economically. A Germany, which would never ever be the same; a Germany that would never be theirs again.

This led to a serious identity problem among the members of this community. I have never heard the word "immigrant" at home, it has always been "emigrant": Die Emigranten. Their minds were not where they were, but more on what they had left behind. The most important thing was the expulsion, not the inclusion. Even Berthold Brecht, in one of his beautiful poems, goes a bit further saying that emigrant wasn't an adequate word either, since it hadn't been their wish to leave, so the correct word would be "to flee" ("Geflohene")

How was this identity conflict shown? One example is the possession of a German passport and the securing of German citizenship. Most of the emigrants' descendants, the first generation of Argentines, got their German citizenship and passport. The reasoning that supported this action was that if they needed to emigrate someday, they would have a "secure" place to go to -- quite a paradox. In Argentina, they had the option to adopt the nationality, but most of them did not. They were looking for an identity, not a nationality. They vacilated between a feeling of thankfulness to a country that had sheltered them, and one of difficulty in finding an identity. Hence they had neither the nationality nor the identity.

Another expression of this problem was the oft-mentioned subject of burial. A small percentage of the community decided to be cremated or buried in the Buenos Aires British Cemetery. These people didn't adhere to Jewish practices or religious beliefs, since cremation is contrary to Halacha (Jewish law).

On one hand, this happened since a great part of the German Jewish community did not get along well with the AMIA ruling classes and wouldn't partake of their religious institutions (AMIA is the lead organization of the Jewish community in Argentina, whose head office was blown up by a terrorist attack 18 July 1994, resulting in 85 casualties.) On the other hand, they justified this practice because there had been previous cremations in the Weissensee Jewish Cemetery of Berlin and other Jewish cemeteries, authorized by German rabbis of the Reform movement.

Characteristics like punctuality, formality, and their structured way of thinking were some of the many characteristics these people brought along with them when coming to Argentina. Even the way their houses were decorated, with respect to furniture style, was a way of recreating a lost sense of place. The classic "Rosenthal" dinner set was also brought to Argentina with extreme care and used to recreate a familiar scene.

There were many typical Argentine customs they could not assimilate, such as the "mate," a green infusion shared among a group of people in a loving atmosphere; Truco, a card game in which the winner beats his/her opponent by deceiving him/her. They also could not tolerate the lack of punctuality and informality of the Argentine culture.

SECOND CHARACTERISTIC: DISCRIMINATION

I see discrimination as an undeniable characteristic of human nature. I am not trying to make an apology for it, even less justify it, but to understand it as a reaction to that which is different and unknown, as well as a way of sheltering oneself with their peers in a familiar environment. Therefore, it was not surprising that the discriminatory characteristic was also present in this group, first for being a victim of it, and secondly, for using it against others who had not suffered as they had.

The bipolarity in its external face showed itself through German-Jewish community's relationships, and could be classified into four categories:

1. Relationships with non Jews
2. Relationships with non German Jews
3. Relationships with non Jewish Germans

4. Relationships with German Jews who emigrated in the 1920's.

1) The Jewish relationships with the non-Jewish community were few, and they were restricted to a mere daily greeting, or to business as a result of limited social contact.

2) There was mutual distrust of Jewish people from other origins, since non-German Jews had prejudices and fears of everything that was "German". It didn't matter that they were both Jewish. The mere mention of German-Jewish origin provoked irritation. Their emotional reaction led them to eliminate the word "Jewish" and stain the rest with the word German. To them, the coexistence of the Jewish with the German was unthinkable. So the coexistence of German Jews with non-German Jews was very difficult.

3) There were virtually no relationships with Germans who were non-Jewish, since many belonged to the National Socialist Party, in keeping with the pro-Nazi atmosphere in the country. This group, which shared the culture, language and customs, was completely separate from the Jewish-German emigrants.

4) Lastly, the German-Jews who had emigrated in the 1920's, set the basis for the making of the German-Jewish community. They were not willing to help their fellow countrymen since they might risk the social position which they had achieved in the Argentine society, above all in the German circles, which were obviously not Jewish, and pro-Nazi.

The impossibility of relating to other social circles caused the new German Jewish immigrants to be very insular. They were able to organize themselves in a solid communitarian structure, composed of several religious, educational, cultural, social and sportive institutions, which gave them a feeling of pride and accomplishment. Among the very many jewels of these institutions, we can highlight the Children's Home, the Old People's Home, "Vidalinda", as well as the Rehabilitation and Hospitalization Home, unique in South America.

The community reached its glory within the frame of these institutions, and this was during the 50 years after the emigration began. Why only 50 years of glory? Because now 65 years have gone by since the immigrants' arrival date, and it was during those first 50 years that the German viewpoint was maintained in those institutions. The idiosyncrasies, customs, and language had a strong influence over the communitarian structure and was a key factor in bringing the community together to try to restore the rich institutional German world. As time went by, the characteristic German elements began to disappear, and the first generations of Argentines began adapting to the society, until these elements were no longer found. The " assimilation" and the "mixed marriages" (that is to say, between "yeckes" and Jews from other origins) caused the inevitable dissolution of the German characteristics of the community. Although they still exist, the community organizations have lost the "community" objectives for which they were created.

All in all, we can say that the difficulties posed by adapting to a new country caused the German-Jews to confine themselves within their own circle. The problem of how to relate with the others was a priority, but at the same time it worked as a factor in the preservation of German characteristics.

Another feature to highlight was the criterion of urbanization. Approximatly 80% of the German-speaking Jewish population settled in the Belgrano neighborhood, in same way that in Germany they lived in the capital city. The choice of neighborhood was based on the similarity of the street plan and construction to the place they came from, since English people who had come before the time of the railways inhabited this neighborhood. The identification with their customs made the German-Jews feel at home, and it is there where they developed their life.

THIRD CHARACTERISTIC: LANGUAGE

The German language was their bond. It was a powerful uniting factor, which they kept alive in following generations. Through the language, they transmitted experiences and feelings difficult to translate to other languages, common codes that helped them cure their troubled souls.

There was even a so-called "Belgrano-Deutsch", kind of German dialect characteristic of the Belgrano neighborhood. It was a characteristic "Germanization" of Spanish words, but not the "Hispanization" of the German language. The tendency went toward speaking German as their primary language, in keeping with the concept of "emigrants" and not " immigrants". At the same time, "Yiddish" was considered a low dialect, a desecration of German.

The fight to perpetuate the German characteristics was faced by the so-called "missing generation". At the beginning of Nazism in Germany, many families had only one child, and having more was unthinkable. On coming to Argentina, the conditions were not very encouraging to having more children since they had to sort out many kinds of difficulties in settling down. This is why the "missing generation" represents an important segment of the population. They were fewer in number and were not sufficient to be the recipient and transmitter of the cherished values of this community.

This community demonstrates a dichotomy between the concepts of "integration" and "adaptation". Integration, as such, was never fully achieved, partly because of the difficulties that it implied, and on the other hand because of their own choice. They did not want to integrate, but rather to adapt to the new situation.

RE-EMIGRATION

Lastly I want refer to a very peculiar phenomenon: re- emigration. It is the ultimate expression of the unending problem of identity. Between 1,500 and 2,000 members of the German-Jewish community, of different age groups, both emigrants and their descendants, have once again chosen the land of their ancestors and moved back to Germany.

Their mastery of the language, their familiarity with the customs, and their German citizenship encouraged this step. This is in contrast to the feeling of living in Germany, where there was a constant invitation to leave. I would like to highlight that the original emigrants have transmitted the German character to their children more than they ever imagined, and at the same time, we, their children have received much more than we have appreciated. Only God knows how long the German characteristics willstay alive.

EDITOR'S NOTE

For more information on the German-Jewish Community in Argentina, see:

Kristen Moneke, *Die Emigration der deutschen Juden nach Argentinien (1933-1945): zur Rolle der jüdischen Hilfsvereine* (Münster: Westfälische Wilhelmsuniversität, 1993).; Jack Twiss Quarles van Ufford and Joep Jozef Merkx, *Ich hab' noch einen Koffer in Berlin: German-Jewish identity in Argentina, 1933-1985* (1982).

FAMILY HISTORY RESEARCH IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA:
VITAL RECORDS LOST AND FOUND

—JULIUS MÜLLER

Migration between Germany and the areas of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire now in the Czech Republic was quite frequent during the last few centuries. A complex relationship between the Jewish communitiy and central and local authorities resulted in a variety types of Jewish records in Bohemia and Moravia.

There are three main sources of family data: vital records (1784-1949), Jewish censuses (1724, 1783, 1793, 1799, 1811), and Books of Jewish Familiants (1760-1849). The latter two data sources are more or less associated with so-called "official antisemitism", based on the imperial decree entitled „Familiant Law" (issued in 1726 by the Charles VI). The Law dramatically changed the social life of Jewish families for the next 120 years by imposing a population restriction, allowing only firstborn sons to marry.

VITAL RECORDS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The obligation of Jewish communities to keep a vital records was introduced by the Emperor Joseph II's decree in 1784. From then until 1949, the records had a fixed structure. Birth records listed birth place, birth date, circumcision date/girl's naming date, gender, legitimacy or illegitimacy, child's name, father's name, father's profession and status (familiant, schutzjude), mother's name (often the names of grandparents), witnesses' names, godfather's name (= sandek's name for boys). Marriage records (see attached example) include: name and age of groom, name and age of bride, dates of banns, date of marriage, place and date of marriage, name of marrying person bride or groom, names and professions of witnesses. Death records: date of death, date and place of burial, name and age of deceased person, profession of deceased and his/her domicile, cause of death. In 1949, the Jewish records were merged into the civil records, and kept by the state. Most of the vital records are stored today in the Czech National Archive in Prague.

The demographic patterns of Jewish communities in Bohemia and communities in Moravia were quite different distinct from each other due to the different status, especially the more relaxed attitude of the local government and individual landlords to the Jews in Moravia. There the Jews mostly lived in larger towns, and the records were kept in each town's Jewish records. In Bohemia, other than a few large communities such as Prague, Kolin or Jung Bunzlau, most village Jews lived scattered in the hundreds of small towns. The vital records were often kept in „the administration districts" under the name of one central village, and incorporated the Jewish families from other villages nearby. Thus when searching for records today, the location of nearby administrative districts must then be identified when one wants to study the church duplicates of

Jewish records (see below).

The vital records contain the surnames since 1788 when imperial decree was issued by Joseph II. It ordered the use of German first names and surnames and induced a wave of objections and protests by Jewish officials. Nonetheless, the decree issued soon after confirmed the former regulations and fixed 115 male and 35 female first names. The formation of German first name can be in many cases traced: Löwy > Löbl > Leopold, Cvi > Hirsch > Hermann, etc. The dynamics of surname formation is a fascinating topic, and is treated in several onomastic studies. Before 1787, most of the village Jews used patronyms; sometimes the toponyms indicated where they came from (Prager, Amsterdamer, Fuerth, Frankfurter, etc.).

NAME CHANGE LISTS

The change and/or adoption of a new surname is a crucial in the process of tracing the family. Some of the earliest vital records include charts with the former and new name. The Books of Jewish Familiants also often indicate the surname change made about 1787.

The legitimacy of children is another issue made clear by the Familiant Law. In compliance with the restrictive decree that only first-borns sons were allowed to marry, all additional children were considered illegitimate and they bore mother's surname. After 1849 when the decree was lifted, the marriage books contain many additional notations since many couples wanted to legitimize their children. Only then did their adult children obtain father's surname. If the parents were already deceased, the children kept their mother's surname.

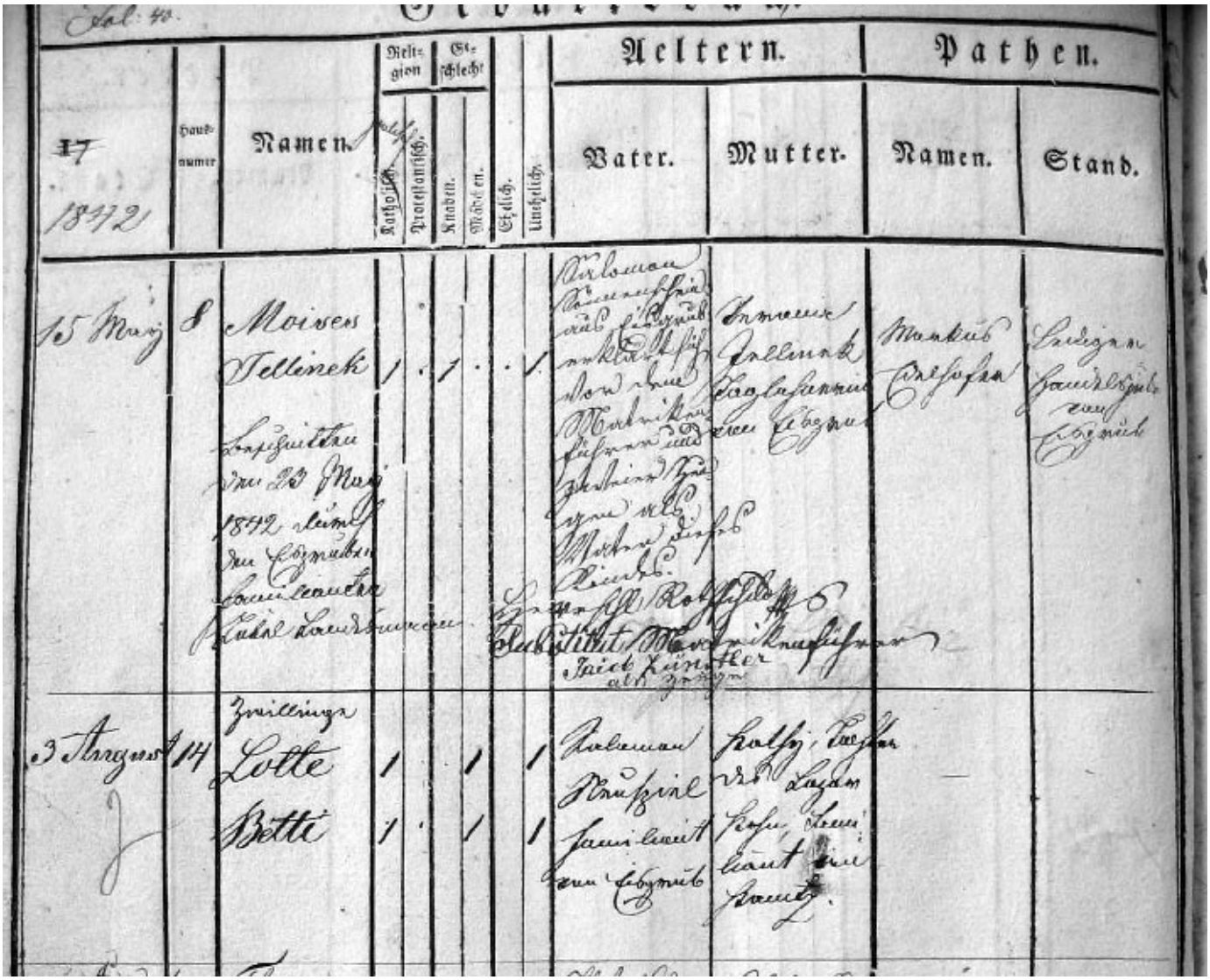
Jewish vital records were initiated in Bohemia and Moravia in 1784, but the records were not always kept according to the proposed guidelines. In 1794, a new regulation entitled midwives to keep separate birth reports. This resulted in duplicate records. In 1799, a Systemal Patent required Catholic priests in nearby parishes to create so called „Catholic duplicates" of Jewish vital records. Since the Catholic duplicates were not started yet in many parishes, in 1839 another decree enforced this agenda. The Catholic duplicates were for the most part maintained until 1873, and in some cases even until 1900. Another duplication appeared since the Jewish communites were ordered to keep a second copy of their own records after 1874. In the 2nd half of 19th century, the records for small towns were endangered as Jewish families gradually moved to large towns and/or abroad.

In 1938 and1939, the Nazi offices attempted to collect all Jewish vital records in the area of Bohemia and Moravia (Sudetenland); thus they organized and gathered most of the records in the town of Liberec. In 1941 and1942, a similar campaign was launched in the rest of the occupied country, and Jewish records were gathered in the *Zentralamt zur Regelung der Judenfrage in Böhmen und Mähren*. In 1943, various duplicate records, including the Catholic duplicates, were collected by *Sippenamt für Böhmen u. Mähren*, and deposited outside of Prague. Those duplicate collections were reportedly covered and saved by the Czech employees in the repository and thus were not transfered to Prague during the war years. The original records were then destroyed by the Nazis in April 1945.

Today, the old Jewish vital records (1784-1949) are rather well preserved although most of the researchers interested in them are not aware of this fact. As shown above, there were many duplicate records that can be used today for family history research. Taking all information about Jewish vital records together, there were at least three collections of the vital records, overlaping each other for most of the time that vital records were kept. Even today some of the Catholic duplicates can be recovered in several district archives of Bohemia and Moravia.

The duplicate records regained their significance after WWII, when the duplicates were claimed as legally acceptable documents. The death records were supplemented by painstaking large „claimed-dead" sections.

Also, the birth and marriage records were re-opened to the recovering communities in Czechoslovakia. In 1949, the state legislature took over the agenda of all vital records and the Jewish records were no longer kept as a separate collection.



17 1842	Hausnummer	Namen	Religion: Katholisch	Religion: Protestantisch	Geschlecht: Knaben	Geschlecht: Mädchen	Ehelich	Unehelich	Aeltern: Vater	Aeltern: Mutter	Pathen: Namen	Pathen: Stand
15 Mai	8	Moises Tellinek	1		1			1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3 August	14	Zwillinge Lotte	1			1		1	[illegible]	[illegible]		
		Bette	1			1		1	[illegible]	[illegible]		

Register of Eisgrub Birth Record, 1842

OHAV SHOLAUM:
PRAYERBOOKS RETURNED

—KAREN FRANKLIN

> *Karen,*
> *Thank you so much for sending the prayer book. It means so much to our family to have Julius's prayer book. Julius is the reason our Adler side of the family survived the Holocaust. He gave an affidavit to his brother, my father-in-law, to come to the States in 1938 from Germany...*

From throughout the US, Germany, Australia, Canada, Israel, England, Switzerland, and Mexico via Jewishgen.org, email, and a web of cousins calling cousins, the descendants of former congregants of Congregation Ohav Sholaum of Inwood, New York, contacted us to retrieve their families' left-behind prayer books. The congregation closed its doors in January 2006.

This odyssey began in November 2005 when the staff at The Judaica Museum of The Hebrew Home for the Aged at Riverdale, received a call from the administrator of Ohav Sholaum, a congregation founded in 1940 by German Jewish refugees in Inwood, an area near Washington Heights in northern Manhattan.:

The synagogue would be closing in a few months. Demographics had shifted, many families had left the area, and the synagogue could no longer sustain its building. Religious and historical objects were offered to local institutions, and many came to retrieve these valuable items.

The Leo Baeck Institute was the recipient of a plaque honoring World War II veterans, choir scores, historical records, and extremely important membership records. Museum staff photographed and sent to LBI photographs of the yahrzeit plaques that were still in existence when the synagogue closed.

The Judaica Museum saved an historic torah scroll that had been used in shiva homes, various textiles, and other significant ritual items. Family members returned to the synagogue to retrieve prayer books and personal items left in the pews, but as the time came closer for the building to be shuttered and sold, there were still hundreds of prayer books that had not been retrieved by family members.

DONATIONS TO INSTITUTIONS

These prayer books dated back to 1832. These siddurim, which had been brought to this country by the

original members of the congregation, had belonged to their grandparents or great grandparents. Many were inscribed with family names, some in Hebrew (as was often a custom in German-Jewish families), and many with the towns they had come from in Germany.

One can only imagine the histories they were witness to. One was inscribed with the date "10 Nov 1938" (Kristallnacht). Others bore the handwriting of a child, and yet others had the names of more than one owner inscribed. Though the synagogue staff had made an attempt to locate the descendants of members, many families had moved from the area decades ago; some had moved continents away.

The Judaica Museum staff recognized that we had two opportunities which the synagogue staff did not: the opportunity to store the books for a period of time to allow their return to family, and the opportunity to utilize technology, namely the internet, to aid in the return of this property. With the approval of the synagogue president and the administrator, Mrs. Anne Lenes, two announcements went out on GERSIG, the German Special Interest discussion group of Jewishgen in the spring of 2006 offering the return of the books.

RETURNING FAMILY HEIRLOOMS

As far as we know, this was the first time that a museum in the United States took on a specific project with the intent to return cultural property. The mission of most museums is to hold objects for the public good and in the public trust; the return of objects is not often the goal of museum collecting. The staff understood, however, that these volumes would not have been considered for inclusion in the collection.

Had the Museum not rescued these volumes, they would have been sent for burial. Because of the sanctity of God's name, a prayer book would never be discarded in the trash, but handled in a more reverent method in accordance with Jewish tradition, and buried. In fact, we later learned that some prayer books that we had not rescued, newer volumes and several older ones we had missed, had actually been sent to a funeral home in the Bronx for burial (and some had already been buried). I went to the basement of the funeral home, where the books had already been tied into bundles and prepared for burial, and extracted the 19th Century volumes inscribed with names and towns. Several of these volumes were indeed returned to families.

The Jewishgen posting listed over 100 family names and places. To date over 35 books have been returned to family members, and there were additional outcomes: two women wrote in that they thought that the same book might belong to them because a name on the list was their maiden name. Neither knew of the other, and last we heard they were trying to make a connection.

One gentleman wrote that he received an email that we were in possession of some prayer books that were "dedicated to or donated by" his parents. Both his parents were deceased and he was the only child. "If the books are available, I would be most pleased to accept delivery." I found the 1891 Pesach machzor which had belonged to his father four days before the holiday and wrote the following message:

"I was so moved this afternoon when I went to retrieve it for you to find that it is a prayer book for Passover. Thus I will bring it specially to the post office this afternoon to make sure that you will have it in time for the festival."

He wrote back, "Please accept my sincerest thanks for your kindness. I hope that you, too, have a sweet Pesach and a great deal of nachos for your kind act."

GERMAN TOWNS HELP THE PROCESS

We returned several prayer books, which had not been claimed, to Jewish museums and communities in Germany. In Harmutsachsen, where the Goldschmidt family was from, the local historians were already in contact with other descendants of the family and notified them about the prayer book. They were able to give

us an entire history of the family in Germany, and the information about the branch in New York helped to complete their research.

Researchers in Bad Hersfeld were able to give an extensive family history of the Tannenbaum family when we returned the prayer book to historians in this community as well. A great deal of information on this family exists already on their web site www.ag-spurensuche.de.

Others became interested in the quest to return books to the families, and a young reporter for New York's *Jewish Week* newspaper sensed the passion of the quest. She placed a photograph of the return of the books on the front page of the May 5, 2006 edition along with the story. The funeral home adventure was described in detail, and the prayer books were "splashed by transatlantic waters and inscribed with history-laden and eerie dates". We returned several books as a direct result of this publicity.

Barry Goldmeier, whose photograph appeared on the front page, later wrote: Karen found a prayer book from a defunct synagogue in New York for a Max Goldmeier and gave it to me. Last month we were in New Jersey at a wedding. I was at the front desk checking my son out of the hotel so he could return to college. The person behind the desk said to the person in front of us who had just checked out "have a nice day Mrs. Goldmeier". I met the members of the Goldmeier family from Fulda who now live in Ohio. They are the direct family of the Max Goldmeier whose prayer book I got from Karen. I plan to give the book to Max's grand-daughter when I meet her through these Fulda Goldmeiers.

We had decided from the outset that if a family member requested a book, we would not try to determine the legitimacy of the "claim", but only delay it if we thought a more likely claim might arise. To date, only one book was contested, by two individuals whose ancestors had the exact same name, and these individuals worked together in attempting amongst themselves to research which ancestor was the more likely actual owner of the book.

The Judaica Museum still maintains over 70 books for return, and emails continue to arrive weekly. To view the complete list of books, you can access the SIG Archives under "Ohav Sholaum" on www.jewishgen.org, or contact abraunstein@hebrewhome.org

The Judaica Museum and Ohav Sholaum received a 2006 Lower Hudson Conference of Historical Agencies and Museums Award for Community Documentation for the Prayer Book Project for "to promote education about and return to individuals, cultural property (prayer books) brought to the US prior to WWII.".

One of the books yet to be returned from Congregation Ohav Sholaum

THE NEW GERMAN *GEDENKBUCH*

– JOACHIM MUGDAN

BACKGROUND

In 1986, the German Federal Archive (*Bundesarchiv*)[1] published a memorial book (*Gedenkbuch*) for Jewish victims of Nazi persecution from Germany.[2] Since cooperation with the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) was not possible, it was restricted to victims whose last place of residence (or, if unknown, whose place of birth) was in what later became the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) or in Berlin.

At the time of publication, the Federal Archive announced that it would continue working on the *Gedenkbuch* in order to produce a corrected and expanded second edition. This became much easier after the unification of Germany in 1990, which gave the compilers access to important archival materials, including the "supplementary cards for data on ancestry and education" from the German Census of May 1939. These cards made it possible to identify 233,973 persons who then lived in Germany (excluding annexed Austria and Sudetenland) and were Jewish according to Nazi criteria, i.e. had three or four Jewish grandparents. With some exceptions, this corresponds to the halachic definition of who is a Jew and includes Jews who were baptized or officially renounced Judaism. The "list of Jewish residents" (which is currently being expanded) was used to correct some 70,000 entries in the first edition of the *Gedenkbuch* and served as a basis for identifying victims who were not listed there. The International Tracing Service was able to determine the fate of about 20,000 Jews from those regions that became part of East Germany, Poland or Russia after World War II. In addition, the compilers evaluated various unpublished sources (such as deportation lists and records of Jewish organizations) and a wealth of publications, including numerous local memorial books – among them those for Berlin,[3] Hamburg,[4] Cologne[5] and Leipzig[6] (four of the six cities with a Jewish population of over 10,000 in 1933). The notion of "victim" includes not only those who were deported to concentration camps or "ghettos" and died there but also those who:

- were evicted to Poland (in October 1938) or to Gurs in France (in October 1940) and later killed,
- emigrated to other countries (primarily France, Belgium and the Netherlands) and were deported from there during the German occupation,

- preferred suicide to deportation, or
- were killed as part of the "Euthanasia" programme T4.

In May 2006, the Federal Archive was finally able to present the second edition of the *Gedenkbuch* to the public (first edition in 1986).[7]

DESCRIPTION

1. **Format**

The first edition consists of two huge volumes (35.5×26 cm), the second of four volumes of a more convenient size (29.5×21 cm, A4). The lists of victims comprise 1738 and 3820 pages, respectively.

2. **Coverage**

The first edition lists over 128,000 victims from West Germany and Berlin, the second 149,625 victims from all of Germany in the borders of 31 December 1937.

3. **Entries**

In the first edition, the information is presented in tabular form, with one line per entry and five columns:

a. name [family name, given name(s), maiden name]
b. last place of residence in Germany [or place of birth, marked (1)]
c. date of birth
d. date of death
e. place of death

Cohnreich, Rosa, geb. Loewenstein	Berlin	25.08.68	verschollen	Minsk
Cohnreich, Samuel	Berlin	21.01.67	26.08.43	Theresienstadt
Cohnreich, Sara, geb. Bohrs	Berlin	20.03.89	verschollen	Riga
Cohrs, Helene, geb. Lewin	Hamburg	05.12.78	verschollen	Riga
Coini, Paula, geb. Leven	Krefeld (1)	27.10.78	für tot erklärt	Auschwitz
Colani, Georg	Berlin	03.07.71	verschollen	Litzmannstadt/Lodz
Colani, Paul	Berlin	29.09.72	00.05.44	Theresienstadt
Colani, Rosalie, geb. Harwitz	Berlin	05.03.84	verschollen	Auschwitz
Colberg, Hermine, geb. Frankenthal	Berlin	21.09.66	04.08.42	Freitod
Colland, Heinz	Hamburg	28.03.03	verschollen	Minsk
Collas, von,, Alice A., geb. Silberfeld	München	05.05.96	verschollen	Riga
Collen, Berta, geb. Lewinski	Berlin	11.02.97	für tot erklärt	Riga

Sample entries in German Gedenkbuch, 1986

If the date of death is not known, it is replaced by the legal terms *verschollen* (missing) or *für tot erklärt* (declared dead): A person whose death is likely but not proven is considered "missing"; after a certain waiting period, a court may declare him or her dead (usually at the request of relatives), which is a prerequisite for probate proceedings. The place of death is sometimes replaced by *Freitod* (suicide), *unbekannt* (unknown) or other remarks.

The second edition looks more like a dictionary with entries of varying length. In contrast to the first, it gives both the place of birth and the last place of residence and provides information on the victim's deportation history. The following data fields are used:

Cohnreich, Rosa
geb. Löwenstein
* 25.08.1868 in Tempelburg
wohnhaft Berlin
Deportation: ab Berlin
29.07.1942, Theresienstadt
26.09.1942, Treblinka

Cohnreich, Samuel
* 21.01.1867 in
Cammin i. Pom.
wohnhaft Berlin
Deportation: ab Berlin
15.12.1942, Theresienstadt
Todesdaten:
26.08.1943, Theresienstadt

Cohnreich, Sara
geb. Boas
* 20.03.1889 in Zempelburg
Deportation: ab Berlin
19.01.1942, Riga

Cohnreich, Willy
* 24.12.1897 in Berlin
Todesdaten:
24.06.1938, Buchenwald

Cohn-Solimann, Friedrich
* 05.09.1888 in Essen
Todesdaten:
12.11.1942, Auschwitz

Cohn-Strauch, Vera
* 09.04.1927 in Berlin
wohnhaft Breslau
Deportation: ab Breslau
25.11.1941, Kowno
Todesdaten:
29.11.1941, Kowno

Cohrs, Helene
geb. Lewin
* 05.12.1878 in
Königsberg (Pr.)
wohnhaft Hamburg
Deportation: ab Hamburg
06.12.1941, Riga

Cohnmann, Therese
geb. Israel
* 22.05.1856 in Alfter
wohnhaft Bonn
Deportation:
Ziel unbekannt

Coini, Paula
geb. Leven
* 27.10.1878 in Krefeld
Uerdingen a. Rh.
wohnhaft Krefeld
Uerdingen a. Rh.
Deportation:
1943, Auschwitz

Colani, Georg
* 03.07.1871 in Berlin
wohnhaft Berlin
Deportation: ab Berlin
18.10.1941, Litzmannstadt

Colani, Paul
* 29.09.1872 in Berlin
wohnhaft Berlin
Deportation: ab Berlin
28.05.1943, Theresienstadt
Todesdaten:
24.05.1944, Theresienstadt

Colani, Rosalie
geb. Horrwitz
* 05.03.1884 in Berlin
wohnhaft Berlin
Deportation: ab Berlin
28.05.1943, Theresienstadt
12.10.1944, Auschwitz

Colberg, Hermine
geb. Frankenthal
* 21.09.1866 in Fürstenberg
wohnhaft Berlin
Todesdaten:
04.08.1942
Freitod

Cölho, Elisa
geb. Jaulus
* 28.07.1881 in Aachen
wohnhaft Aachen
Deportation:
1943, Auschwitz

Colki, Amalie
* 07.09.1883 in Pleschen
wohnhaft Breslau
Deportation: ab Breslau
25.11.1941, Kowno
Todesdaten:
29.11.1941, Kowno

Colki, Dorothea
* 16.02.1879 in Pleschen
wohnhaft Breslau
Deportation: ab Breslau
13.04.1942, Izbica

Colki, Jenny
* 19.07.1886 in Pleschen
wohnhaft Breslau
Deportation: ab Breslau
25.11.1941, Kowno
Todesdaten:
29.11.1941, Kowno

Colki, Marie
* 09.11.1872 in Pleschen
wohnhaft Breslau
Deportation: ab Breslau
27.07.1942, Theresienstadt
23.09.1942, Treblinka

Colki, Rosalie
* 05.07.1875 in Pleschen
wohnhaft Breslau
Deportation: ab Breslau
27.07.1942, Theresienstadt
Todesdaten:
19.02.1944, Theresienstadt

Colland, Heinz
* 28.03.1903 in Aachen
wohnhaft Hamburg
Deportation: ab Hamburg
08.11.1941, Minsk

Collas, Alice Alexandria von
geb. Silberfeld
* 05.09.1896 in Breslau
wohnhaft Breslau
Deportation: ab München
20.11.1941, Kowno
Todesdaten:
25.11.1941, Kowno

Collasius, Erna
geb. Fiebing
* 11.11.1897 in Metz
wohnhaft Eberswalde
Deportation:
Tötungsanstalt Hartheim
Todesdaten:
09.06.1940, Tötungsanstalt
Hartheim
Euthanasie

Collen, Berta
geb. Lewinski
* 11.02.1897 in Berlin
Deportation: ab Berlin
25.01.1942, Riga

Sample entries in German Gedenkbuch, 2006

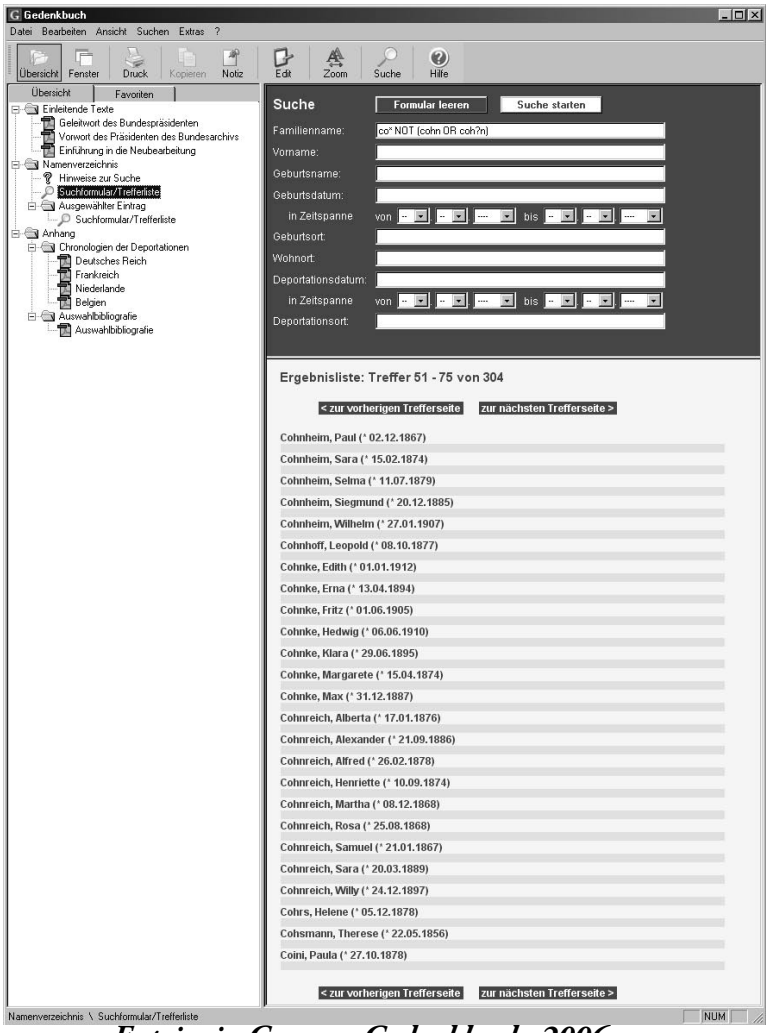
a. family name [in bold], given name(s)
b. maiden name [introduced by *geb.*]
c. date of birth [introduced by an asterisk; the compilers seem to have been unaware of the Christian origin of this symbol, which many other memorial books avoid], place of birth [introduced by *in*]
d. last place of residence in Germany [introduced by *wohnhaft*]
e. Deportation, place of deportation [introduced by ab]
f. date of deportation, destination [may be repeated for subsequent deportations from one concentration camp to another]
g. date of death, place of death
h. special circumstances of death, e.g. *Freitod* (suicide), *Euthanasie*

If the fields "g" and/or "h" are present, they are introduced by *Todesdaten* (death information) on a separate line. If a field is not applicable (e.g. maiden name) or if the information is not available, it is simply omitted except that *Ziel unbekannt* is used for deportations to an unknown destination. In particular, the terms *verschollen* and *für tot erklärt* no longer appear – perhaps because some mistakenly regarded "missing" as an inappropriate euphemism.

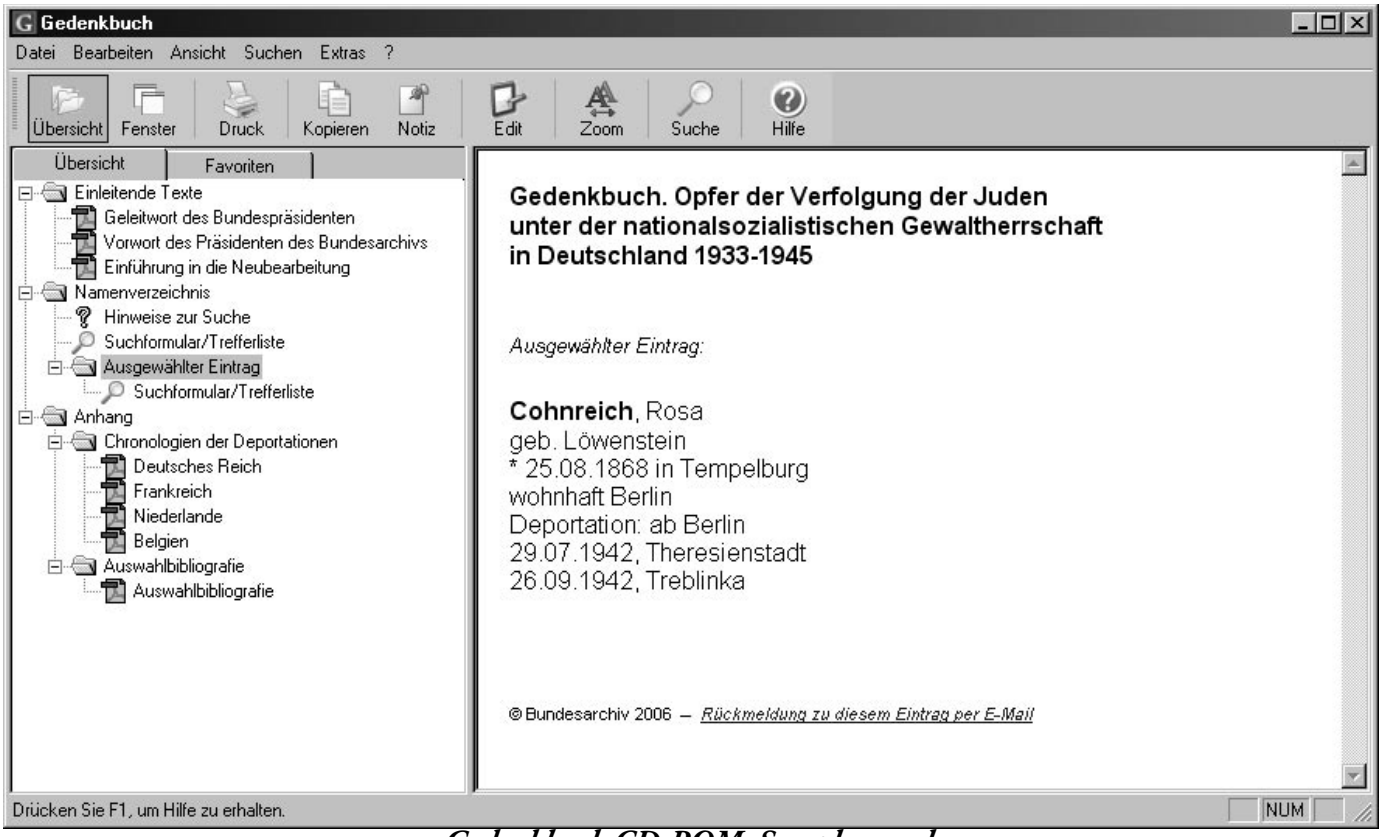
CD-ROM, 2006

The second edition of the *Gedenkbuch* comes with a CD-ROM for Windows. It contains the front matter (forewords; introduction to the new edition) and the appendices (chronological lists of deportations from Germany, France, the Netherlands and Belgium; bibliography) as PDF files and the list of victims as a database. The viewer application InfoPilot may be started from the CD or installed on hard disk. The left panel of the main window shows an overview (*Übersicht*) of the contents in the form of a tree. If one clicks on *Suchformular/Ergebnisliste* in the overview, a search mask opens in the upper section of the right panel (alternatively, one can use the icon *Suche* or the menu item *Suchen*). The following search fields are available:

a. *Familienname* (family name)
b. *Vorname* (given names)
c. *Geburtsname* (maiden name)
d. *Geburtsdatum* (date of birth)
e. *Geburtsort* (place of birth)
f. *Wohnort* (last place of residence in



Entries in German Gedenkbuch, 2006



Gedenkbuch CD-ROM: Sample search

Germany)

g. *Deportationsdatum* (date of deportation)
h. *Deportationsort* (place of deportation)

Destination of deportation as well as date, place and circumstances of death are not included in the search mask. Another somewhat surprising limitation is that place and date of deportation can be searched only in conjunction with one of the name fields. Moreover, a search by date of deportation will find only the first deportation and not subsequent ones.

The search is started by pressing ENTER or clicking on the button *Suche starten*. When the button *Formular leeren* is clicked, all search expressions are erased.

Searches are case-insensitive; the letters *ä, ö, ü* and ß are treated as *ae, oe, ue* and *ss*, respectively, and diacritics are ignored (and often omitted in the database anyway, which I find somewhat strange in the era of Unicode). It is sufficient for the search term to match one of the words in the field. For instance, *Cohn* also matches double names such as *Heinemann-Cohn* and *Cohn-Bloch*.

Search expressions may contain the wildcards ? (for one character) and * (for zero or more characters), even at the beginning of the search term, and the logical operators *AND*, *OR* and *NOT*. These powerful devices permit the user to formulate complex search expressions, but they are not geared towards the specific problems with searches for personal and geographic names in databases, such as variant spellings (e.g. *Wischnewski / Wisnewsky / Wisniewsk*i), equivalent names (e.g. *Alexander / Sender, Kraków / Krakau*) and spelling errors. In this respect, the search options “soundex”, “synonyms” and “fuzzy” implemented in Yad Vashem’s *Central Database*

of Shoah Victims' Names[8] (which includes the data from the 1986 *Gedenkbuch*) are often more convenient and more helpful. Moreover, the wildcard searches are quite slow, which seems to be due in part to ineffective programming techniques. For instance, if one specifies a family name that occurs, say, twenty times and then adds a wildcard expression in another field, e.g. *NOT b** in *Wohnort*, the search is slowed down considerably although it should take next to no time to check twenty records for the place of residence.

In the database, place names usually appear in the German form (e.g. *Warschau* rather than *Warszawa*), often with specifications such as *a.M.* (am Main) and the like. Sometimes, these are needed to distinguish between two places, e.g. *Frankfurt a.M.* and *Frankfurt* (*Oder*). Occasionally, the compilers failed to disambiguate, either in individual cases (possibly due to lack of information) or systematically (thus, Kempen can be either the town in Posen, now *Kępno* in Poland, or the one in the Rhineland). Date fields can be searched as text (with wildcards etc. as in the name fields), but it is also possible to specify a range of dates (Zeitspanne).

The search results are displayed in brief – family name, given name (but not maiden name) and date of birth – in the lower section of the right panel. Here (and in the printed version of the *Gedenkbuch*), *ä, ö* and *ü* are sorted like *a, o* and *u* and distinguished from *ae, oe* and *ue*, e.g. *Muehlfelder ... Mugdan ... Mühlfelder*. The only way to navigate through the list is to go forward (*zur nächsten Trefferseite*) or backward (*zur vorherigen Trefferseite*) one page (25 names) at a time; one cannot even jump to the beginning or the end of the list. By clicking on a line, one gets to see the full entry in the right panel; it can then be printed, copied, imported into a word processor, annotated or added to a list of "favorites". For the next entry, one has to go back to the list of results and click again. The reason why navigation is so cumbersome is that the viewer application uses Web browser technology; the search results are stored in the form of HTML pages.

In addition to general help on the viewer application, there are specific hints on how to search in the *Gedenkbuch* (*Hinweise zur Suche*, accessible via the tree in the left panel). It is regrettable that the help files are available only in German, although many speakers of other languages, predominantly English and Hebrew, will be interested in the using the CD-ROM. Translations of these short instructions would have enabled them to cope with the German menus, messages etc. Better still, one could have offered a choice between different interface languages, as in numerous other applications and online databases.

EVALUATION

The new *Gedenkbuch* is a very important tool for German-Jewish genealogy. As the excerpts from the two editions show, many names were added and many entries provide more information than twenty years ago. In numerous cases, we now know exactly where and when a victim died – not that it really makes much of a difference, but somehow uncertainty is more difficult to cope with. As regards the accuracy of the data, many errors were corrected, but inevitably quite a few remain. When I checked the entries for twelve relatives, I found that

- one person was listed as deported to an unknown destination although she died of natural causes (her death in March 1940 is the last one recorded in the 1928-1940 death register of the Jewish community in Breslau, which the Federal Archive has on microfilm),
- in two instances, the place of birth was incorrectly repeated as the place of residence,
- one place of birth (a small town in Poland) was slightly misspelled,
- in the case of a couple who emigrated to Amsterdam and were deported first to Westerbork and then to Auschwitz, the *Gedenkbuch* states only "Deportation: 1943, Auschwitz", although the date of death can be found in the Dutch memorial book[9] (one of the items in the bibliography).

Alice von Collas, geb. Silberfeld
Geboren am 5.9.1896 in Breslau

Deportiert am 20.11.1941 nach Kaunas
Ermordet in Kaunas am 25.11.1941 (5. Kislew 5702)

Eltern: Alfred Silberfeld, Justizrat in Breslau, und Margarete Silberfeld, geb. Braun

Heirat am 2.5.1922 in München mit Werner Paul August v. Collas, geboren am 6.1.1877 in Mainz
Ehescheidung am 28.12.1934

Zuzug nach München 1921
Adresse:
Biedersteinstraße 39 (seit 3.3.1937)

Gedenkbuch CD-ROM: Sample record

One entry for a woman with two given names was in fact better in the old edition: It records the name by which she was generally known (a shorter variant of the second name), whereas the "corrected" version contains only the first name, which she never used. While this is a fact that the compilers could not have known, I wonder why they did not include both names. Obviously, genealogists working on a particular family will often have done much more research on individual Holocaust victims than one can expect from the authors of a memorial book with 150,000 names, and it is to be hoped that many users will provide additional information. The CD-ROM version makes this very easy: Each record that is displayed contains a link for feedback (*Rückmeldung zu diesem Eintrag per E-Mail*).

The CD-ROM is a most welcome feature of the new edition. Unfortunately, few memorial books are accessible to the public in electronic form even though they are normally produced from computerized databases. The CD version of the *Gedenkbuch* allows the user to find married women under their maiden name (which is not possible in the printed edition) and to conduct numerous other searches. Many of them will be more useful for statistical than for genealogical purposes, but although some additional search options would be desirable, you can usually find what you're is looking for if you formulate the search carefully. The display of the results definitely needs to be improved, and if you wants to browse a series of entries, you are is better off with the printed edition. Hopefully, a revised CD-ROM which can be purchased without the bulky printed volumes will be made available in the future.

Considering what you get for it, the price of under 150 Euro (about $190) for the *Gedenkbuch*, including the CD-ROM, is quite reasonable – but the shipping costs for 12 kg are high: 62 Euro ($80) to the US and Israel. Nonetheless, this certainly is a publication that major libraries and Jewish genealogical societies should acquire.

Of course, a memorial book of this scope cannot provide as much detail as one for a single locality – for instance that for Munich, which contains genealogical information, addresses, short biographies and even photographs. It would therefore be ideal if electronic versions of all the local and regional memorial books could eventually be linked to the *Gedenkbuch* and integrated with Yad Vashem's *Central Database*.

The purpose of the follow-up project "list of Jewish residents" mentioned above is to create a database of all Jews (again, according to the Nazi definition) who lived in Germany between 1933 and 1945. Indeed, all of them – not only those who were murdered or forced to emigrate but even those who died a more or less "natural" death in Germany – must be considered victims of persecution in the wider sense since large-scale

discrimination against Jews started as soon as the Nazis came to power. It should also not be forgotten that some of the measures (notably those depriving "non-Aryans" of their jobs) affected so-called "half-Jews" and "quarter-Jews" as well, and frequently even non-Jews with a Jewish spouse. As the president of the Federal Archive writes in his foreword to the *Gedenkbuch*, "we have a moral obligation to keep the memory of all Jewish victims of Nazi terror awake and to pass it on to future generations." Genealogy will benefit.

NOTES

1. Cf. http://www.bundesarchiv.de (the English version of the web site is still in the making)
2. *Gedenkbuch Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933-1945*. Koblenz: Bundesarchiv 1986, ISBN 3-89192-003-2
3. *Gedenkbuch Berlins der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus*. Berlin: Hentrich 1995, ISBN 3-89468-178-0
4. Sielemann, Jürgen & Flamme, Paul, *Hamburger jüdische Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Gedenkbuch*. Hamburg: Staatsarchiv 1995, ISBN 3-923356-71-4
5. Rogmann, Gabriele, D*ie jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus in Köln: Gedenkbuch.* Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau 1995, ISBN 3-412-12694-2
6. Bertram, Ellen, *Menschen ohne Grabstein: Die aus Leipzig deportierten und ermordeten Juden.* Leipzig: Passage-Verlag 2001, ISBN 3-932900-51-0
7. *Gedenkbuch Opfer der Verfolung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933-1945,* 2., wesentlich erweiterte Auflage. Koblenz: Bundesarchiv 2006, ISBN 3-89192-137-3
8. http://www.yadvashem.org/lwp/workplace/IY_HON_Welcome
9. *In Memoriam*. Den Haag: Sdu uitgeverij 1995, ISBN 90-12-09178-5
10. From: Bundesarchiv, 56064 Koblenz, Germany; Fax: +49-261-505-226, E-Mail: koblenz@barch.bund.de
11.*Biographisches Gedenkbuch der Münchner Juden 1933-1945*, Band 1 (A-L). München: Stadtarchiv 2003, ISBN 3-00-012626-0 (further volumes are planned)
12. Cf. http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aufgaben_organisation/abteilungen/reich/01313/index.html

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Since its founding in 1955, the Leo Baeck Institute has become the premiere research library and archive devoted exclusively to documenting the history of German speaking Jewry.

In the aftermath of World War Two, with the annihilation of European Jewry almost complete, some of the leading intellectuals who were forced out of Germany and Austria were determined to preserve the shattered remains of their devastated heritage. They sought to collect as much material as they could to provide future generations with authentic evidence of this rich and varied past. The founders included Martin Buber, Max Gruenwald, Hannah Arendt and Robert Weltsch. They made Rabbi Leo Baeck, the last leader of the Jewish community in Germany under the Nazis, its first president and named the Institute in his honor, to signify the ideals of modern, cultured, assimilated German-Jewry.

LBI offices were created in each of the great outposts of the exiled community; London, Jerusalem, and New York, with New York as the headquarters, home of the Institute's unparalleled library and archival collections. In September 2001, LBI New York opened a branch of its archives at the new Jewish Museum in Berlin. This marks the first time that this extraordinary array of materials is available in Europe. It is both symbolically and in fact a very significant development in the continuity of this legacy shared by Germans and Jews.

The remarkable holdings of the Institute reflect a heritage of triumphs and tragedies that must never be forgotten.

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